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THE

ISTHMUS OF PANAMÁ.

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BY

CHARLES TOLL. BIDWELL, F.R.G.S.,
BRITISH VICE-CONSUL AT PANAMÁ.

LONDON:
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MDCCCLXV.

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TO

MY FORMER CHIEF AND DEAR FRIEND,

WILLIAM PERRY, ESQ., F.R.G.S.,

Her Majesty's Consul-General at Venice,

WHO FOR NINETEEN YEARS HELD THE POST OF HER MAJESTY'S CONSUL AT PANAMÁ,

AND WHO POSSESSED THE TALENT OF BEING ABLE TO UPHOLD THE DIGNITY OF HIS OFFICE, TO ADVANCE THE INTERESTS OF HIS COUNTRY, AND TO CAUSE THE TITLE OF

"BRITISH SUBJECT"

TO BE RESPECTED, WITHOUT MAKING ONE PERSONAL ENEMY, IN THE STATE TO WHICH HE WAS ACCREDITED,

These Pages are Inscribed

[illegible]UL RECOLLECTION OF MANY ACTS OF KINDNESS RECEIVED AT HIS HANDS

BY

THE AUTHOR.

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THE

ISTHMUS OF PANAMÁ.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

MR. ANTHONY TROLLOPE, in his capital book on the West Indies and Spanish Main, says, "Panamá has now, doubtless, become a place of importance to Englishmen and Americans. But, nevertheless, it is a place whose glory has passed away. It was a large Spanish town, strongly fortified, with some thirty thousand inhabitants, now its fortifications are mostly gone, its churches are tumbling to the ground, its old houses have so tumbled, and its old Spanish population has vanished."

I have endeavoured to collect, and shall here endeavour to give, some fuller account of this now tumbling-down Panamá; some useful information, if possible, regarding the Panamá of the present day. Everyone who for the first time commits himself or herself to print has generally, or at least appears to have, a grand motive to show for doing so, but I fear

I have not even a plea to urge for my temerity. I have often wondered, however, what availeth with the generality of readers, such pleas as are frequently given in: most of them appear to me, at best, but very poor pegs to hang the failure of a book upon; nor is it, I think, any especial reason that people should make themselves ridiculously conspicuous, or conspicuously ridiculous in print, because they have a motive to show and set forth in their preface. I may as well, therefore, own frankly and at once, that in these pages I have worked without other object than to occupy occasional idle hours whilst "at anchor" at Panamá,—hours of all hours intolerable there. Publication has been a second thought. Would that I could write as the Panamá newspaper boasts to do:—

> "For the cause that lacks assistance,
> For the wrong that needs resistance,
> For the future in the distance,
> And the good that I may do."

I have to ask indulgence for inserting in these pages much that has appeared before, in one book or another. I do not claim to be original, except in those matters which have come under my personal observation during long but occasional visits to Panamá. My object has rather been to get together reliable and, if possible, useful information, and to correct some popular errors regarding what is now a really important place, however tumbled down it may appear to be.

I must confess, too, that I understand nothing about

book-making, nothing about dividing what I shall have to say into suitable chapters, and placing it under proper headings; all this labour may be my publisher's, not mine. I fear, too, that I am as terribly given to digressions as Dean Swift in his "Tale of a Tub." If this feature alarms my readers they must refer to the index, and pick out from it the subjects on which they require, or will accept, information. I do at least trust that my publisher will give me an index. One thing, however, is certain—certain beyond all doubt, and may thus early be stated: it is almost impossible to dine continually off Panamá beef. The palate of the simplest feeder on the Isthmus cannot stand this, and requires some change. If, however, as is frequently the case, the change is worse than the beef, one returns to the beef. If, therefore, the "*entrées*" to be found at my "feed" are more unpalatable than Panamá "beef," the return to the beef is simply inevitable. Whenever I make a voyage on board one of the Royal Mail Company's steamers, I eat mutton; mutton chops for breakfast, roast or boiled mutton for dinner—not that I am particularly fond of mutton, or that there is nothing else to eat; there are lots of other things; lots of *entrées*, and of the French *cuisine*, about which Captain Mangles periodically enlightens the shareholders of that company; but somehow it seems to me, and particularly after a year or two of tropical beef, that mutton is the best dish on board; so, try which other I may, I invariably return to it. It does not annoy me, how-

ever, that the *entrées* and the French *cuisine* are there; so I am led to hope that my readers will be as indulgent, and pardon my digressions as I pardon the Company's *entrées*.

When I returned to England, a year or two ago, having been absent from it for some half-dozen years previously, I was astonished and often amused by the curious questions that were asked me respecting Panamá, by generally well-informed persons. One gentleman, a member of parliament, inquired, with perfect innocence, whether Panamá was one of the northern or southern states of America, and how it would probably be affected by the unhappy struggle between those States? Another, no less a magnate than a London banker, asked me, in 1862, whether it was probable that the railway across the Isthmus would be completed. While a third—but this was a gentleman from Cork, who was about to proceed to British Colombia as the correspondent, as he said, "for several leading newspapers"—inquired whether Panamá was not an island, and whether there were not still cannibals there! Another, too, a fair country-woman of my own, who, on her arrival at Colon, heard for the first time the bellowing of an American steam-engine, anxiously begged to be informed what wild beast it was that was roaring.

Yet all this is not perhaps much to be wondered at, for, as far as I can learn, the majority of Englishmen have not hitherto had much modern information regarding Panamá thrust upon them. Even Mr.

Murray has not yet thought it worthy of a Handbook. The writer of an article in a recent number of "All the Year Round," gives an amusing account of the reports she had received of Panamá previous to arrival at that place:—

"'Panamá!' echoed a Limanian gentleman—'a hell upon earth! a sink of yellow fever, of intermittent fever and ague, of dirt, of fiery, burning heat,—overrun with Yankees.' 'Panamá!' cried another with a derisive laugh; 'give you joy of it. Thermometer ranges from 96 degrees to 100 degrees in the shade. If you live six months, thank your stars.' 'Well,' a third gentleman observes placidly, 'I never lived there myself, thank God, but I've crossed the Isthmus, and I've been three days in the dirty town. The air of the Isthmus laid me prostrate with fever, and the bells sent me raving mad while I lay sick; that's all *I* know of Panamá.'"*

So much for popular opinions. Indeed, writers fond of indulging their imagination, appear to feel as safe on the subject of Panamá as an American consul is said to have felt, when called upon to read a paper on the outlandish place to which he had been sent, before one of the learned societies. He felt that there would be no one present who could contradict him, or set him right in his errors. So, methinks, Captain Pim must have felt when he wrote in his book, "The Gate of the Pacific," "that he has known the streets of the city of Panamá so completely flooded, that the

* "Panamá as a Home," in "All the Year Round," May, 1863.

boys amused themselves by swimming round the plaza."*

From such accounts as these it is only one step to those given us in tales of fiction. "Ye little ken, leddie," says Sandy Partan, in his counsel to Alice Graeme, "what it is to crass the says, and what a sair land it is ayont 'em. No but its pretty to look on; wi' its heavens o' blue, and its gran' fragrant forests and bonnie birds, and clear waters. But it's what auld Tam wad hae call'd a painted sapulker, fair 'ithout, but 'ithin fu' o' corruption. What wi' favers and buccaneers, and serpints and Spaniards, and ither reptiles, it's nae place for Christian man, muckle mair young leddies."†

While, if one turns to the ordinary books of reference, one gets rather bewilderment than enlightenment: Maunder, for instance—who certainly, however, does occasionally get up startling information about "foreign parts"—tells us in his "Treasury of Knowledge," "that the natives of the Isthmus go naked, and in many places build their houses upon trees, to be elevated from the damp soil and the reptiles engendered in the putrid waters."‡

Unqualified information such as this may well startle the British emigrant or traveller about to cross the Isthmus. But Panamá had, until lately, relapsed into a place that nobody cared very much about, so that, as I have said, beyond knowing, in the

* Pim's "Gate of the Pacific." † Warburton's "Darien."
‡ "Maunder's Treasury of Knowledge."

language of the school geography, that the Isthmus is a narrow neck of land which unites the continents of North and South America, I am apt to believe that we in England really do not know very much about Panamá. Whether what I may be able to tell is worth the knowing, is another question.

But, after all, it is not surprising that the Isthmus of Panamá had been lost sight of, as it were, in England, when even amongst the Americans themselves—who were so much nearer, and who had created an interest and stake in the country—very little correct popular information was possessed. The president of the Panamá Railroad Company writing to one of the directors, five years after it was opened, said:

"Erroneous impressions in regard to the sources of the business of the Panamá railroad prevail extensively even among intelligent business men and members of our own (American) councils, many regarding it simply as a sort of appendage to California. The fact is overlooked that while California has a population estimated at only 500,000, the population of Central America is over two millions, and that portion of South America, whose only means of communicating with the Atlantic is either by the Isthmus of Panamá or around Cape Horn, contains nearly eight millions. Trade with South America and Central America had been carried on heretofore almost exclusively by England, that between the United States and those countries being estimated at not more than ten per cent. of the whole.

"Of all the freight transported over the Panamá railroad not more than one-tenth had for the first four years any connection with California; nine-tenths at least consisted of British manufactured and other goods, shipped to South America and Central America, and of the produce of those countries in return, such as indigo, cochineal, india-rubber, coffee, cocoa, deer-skins, goat-skins, orchilla, pearl shells, tobacco, balsams, Peruvian bark, ores, straw hats, etc. etc.

"Comparatively nothing is shipped *from* California by the Panamá route except a few cases of silk sent there from China, small parcels of ores, and occasional lots of whalebone."*

All these things make me hope, and I trust I may so hope, without vanity or presumption, that the notes collected together in these pages may, to some people, prove useful. But to keep to my text—for these remarks are at best a digression—we have first, as the earlier voyagers had, a little rough travelling to do before we find ourselves at this Panamá, about which I am to endeavour to relate my experiences and opinions. In reminding my readers of some of the incidents of the earlier history of the Isthmus, I have, whenever possible, culled from the pages of those who have already given us the most charming accounts of the New World.

Probably, there is no modern history more interesting and full of adventure than that of the Spanish

* Private Letter, afterwards published, from the President of the Panamá Railroad Company to one of the Directors.

conquest in South America, a history in these days so accessible to every reader under the charming guidance of such writers as Prescott and Helps. Perhaps there is no place more intimately connected with those conquests than the Isthmus of Panamá. It was, as Sagres was to the Portuguese discoveries in Africa, "a centre from whence the electric energy of enterprise was communicated to discoverers, and collected from them."

Before, therefore, attempting to give an account of the Panamá of the present day, it may not be amiss to recall to our recollection something of the antecedents of the Panamá of the past; of that city to which the emperor Charles the Fifth gave the title of "very noble and very loyal."

CHAPTER II.

Discovery of America.—Foundation of Colonies.—Discovery of Terra Firma.

We have all of us, in our school days, read how Christopher Colon, or Columbus, the daring Genoese navigator, stimulated by the spirit of adventure which prevailed in the latter part of the fifteenth century, pursued, under the auspices of Spain, his voyage of discovery. In 1501, Columbus, roused to emulation by the achievement of Vasco de Gama of the long-attempted navigation to India by the Cape of Good Hope, "conceived the idea of a voyage in which, with his usual enthusiasm, he hoped to surpass not merely the discoveries of Vasco de Gama, but even those of his own previous expeditions." "He was persuaded that there must be a strait existing somewhere about the Caribbean Sea opening into the Indian Sea. The situation in which he placed his conjectural strait was somewhere about what is at present called the Isthmus of Darien."* And in the search for this strait, the mainland of America, first thought to be an island in 1498, was discovered.

I have said that it was under the auspices of Spain

* Irving's "History of the Life and Voyages of Columbus."

that Columbus was enabled to pursue his voyages of discovery; but it should rather be said that it was under the immediate auspices and protection of the Queen Isabella, and then only, as we remember, after eight years spent at court in entreaties for the means, and permission to carry them out. "I undertake the enterprise for my own crown of Castile, and I will pledge my private jewels to raise the money,"* said the queen, when the king and his advisers were still looking coldly on the grand scheme of Columbus And so America was discovered for the crown of Castile.

With his enthusiasm for the queen, Irving says— "This was the proudest moment in the life of Isabella: it stamped her renown for ever as the patroness of the discovery of the New World."†

It has been well remarked that "the greatest genius, combined with the greatest daring that ever centred in the mind of man, was exhibited in the magnificent enterprise of Columbus. It was crowned by such success as none before or after him can rival, and rewarded by the revelation of a new world of such beauty and rare endowments as might now appear a tradition of Paradise, if the first discovery had not been so fatally followed up."‡

"The joy occasioned by the great discovery of America was not confined to Spain. The tidings were spread far and wide, by the communication of ambas-

* Irving's "History of the Life and Voyages of Columbus."
† Ibid. ‡ Warburton's "Darien."

sadors, the correspondence of the learned, the negotiations of merchants, and the reports of travellers, and the whole civilized world was filled with wonder and delight." At the court of Henry VII. the discovery was pronounced a thing more divine than human.*

"And what adventure it was! New trees, new men, new animals, new stars to be seen. Nothing bounded, nothing trite; nothing which had the bloom taken off by much previous description! These early voyagers, moreover, were like children coming out to take their first gaze into the world with ready credulity and unlimited fancy, willing to believe in fairies and demons, Amazons and forms of a lower hemisphere, mystic islands, and fountains of perpetual youth."†

"The far-famed visionary 'Islands of the Blest' seemed to have lain there, among the crystal waters of those unknown seas, happy from all eternity. The gentle, loving, reverential islanders, whose wants were all abundantly, yet without labour, supplied by their woods, were fit inhabitants for such a region. If among their many people were found some fierce, cruel Caribs, the contrast formed but a necessary shade to render the too bright picture human, and to qualify the serene existence of the western islanders with a salutary dread. They seem to have known no other; cold and hunger and nakedness had for them no more terrors than in Paradise; glowing sunshine or mellow

* Irving's "History of the Life and Voyages of Columbus."

† "The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen."

night were always theirs; the richest fruits hung around them, fishes of all shapes and hues swarmed in their waters, and for raiment, to use an Eastern expression, 'they were clothed with sunbeams.'"*

Yet, as Prescott tells us, "it is not easy at this time to comprehend the impulse given to Europe by the discovery of America. It was not the gradual acquisition of some border territory, a province or a kingdom that had been gained, but a new world that was now thrown open to the European. The races of animals, the mineral treasures, the vegetable forms, and the varied aspects of nature, man in the different phases of civilization, filled the mind with entirely new sets of ideas, that changed the habitual current of thought, and stimulated it to indefinite conjecture. The eagerness to explore the wonderful secrets of the new hemisphere became so active that the principal cities of Spain were in a manner depopulated, as emigrants thronged, one after another, to take their chance upon the deep. It was a world of romance that was thrown open; for, whatever might be the luck of the adventurer, his reports on his return were tinged with a colouring of romance that stimulated still higher the sensitive fancies of his countrymen, and nourished the chimerical sentiments of an age of chivalry. . . ."

"The name of 'Castilla del Oro,' Golden Castile, the most unhealthy and unprofitable region of the Isthmus, held out a bright promise to the unfortunate settler, who, too frequently, instead of gold, found

* Warburton's "Darien."

there only his grave. In this realm of enchantment all the accessories served to maintain the illusion. The simple natives, with their defenceless bodies and rude weapons, were no match for the European warrior armed to the teeth in mail. The odds were as great as those found in any legend of chivalry, where the lance of the good knight overturned hundreds at a touch."*

"There is a peculiar fascination in the account of such a doing as the discovery of America which cannot be done any more, or anything like it—which stands alone in the doings of the world."†

"So early as 1496, the English, emulous of the maritime glory recently acquired by Spain and Portugal, and indifferent to the Pope's charter of donation, fitted out an armament for discovery, which was conducted, under letters patent from Henry VII., by John Cabot, a native of Venice, and his three sons, Sebastian, Lewis, and Sanctius. It appears to have been his object to seek for a western passage to the north of the new Spanish discoveries, and to reach Cathay, in India, by this route. In prosecution of this great scheme, Cabot, in 1497, discovered the American continent, probably at Newfoundland; and his son Sebastian, in two successive voyages, performed in 1498 and 1517, explored a great extent of the coast from Hudson's Bay, on the north, as far as Virginia on the south. Although unsuccessful in the attainment of their immediate object, these voyages have

* Prescott's "Peru."

† "The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen."

justly entitled the English to the high distinction of being the first discoverers of the American continent."*

"It would seem to have been specially ordered by Providence that the discovery of the two great divisions of the American hemisphere should fall to the two races best fitted to conquer and colonize them. Thus, the northern section was consigned to the Anglo-Saxon race, whose orderly, industrious habits found an ample field for development under its colder skies and on its more rugged soil; while the southern portion, with its rich tropical products and treasures of mineral wealth, held out the most attractive bait to invite the enterprise of the Spaniard. How different might have been the result if the bark of Columbus had taken a more northerly direction, as he at one time meditated, and landed its band of adventurers on the shores of what is now Protestant America!"†

In the year 1500, Alonzo de Ojeda, an officer who had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, formed, with the assistance of the merchants of Seville, an expedition to America. He had a chart of the last voyage of Columbus, and traversed the coast of Paria —a considerable extent beyond where Columbus had then touched. On this expedition sailed Americus Vespucius, who, on his return, wrote that narrative of the voyages and discoveries which obtained for him the honour of giving his name to the New World.‡

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

† Prescott's "Peru."

‡ "View of South America and Mexico." New York, 1825.

From the first discovery of the continent by Columbus, ten years had elapsed before the Spaniards had made a settlement in any part of it; but about the year 1508 King Ferdinand resolved to found regular colonies. The king divided that part of the continent which lies along the Isthmus of Darien into two provinces, the boundary line running into the Gulf of Uraba. The eastern part, extending to Cape de la Vela, was called New Andalusia, and the government of it given to Ojeda; the other, to the west, including Veragua and reaching to Cape Gracias a Dios, was assigned to Nicuesa, while the island of Jamaica was given to these governors in common, as a place whence to draw provisions.

The settlers in the new colonies were directed to instruct the natives in Christianity and to inform them of the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope, and of the grant which he had made of their country to the king of Spain, and then to require them to embrace Christianity and to acknowledge the authority of the Spanish sovereign; and in case the natives did not comply with these requirements, they were told it would be lawful to attack them with fire and sword, exterminate them, and reduce their wives and children to servitude, or compel them to acknowledge the authority of the Church and the Spanish monarch.*

Having established the Papal power, the proclamation, used at the time, proceeds to inform the Indians

* Irving's "Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus."

† "View of South America and Mexico."

how a certain Pope gave to the Catholic sovereign all these western islands and this western continent, as appears from certain writings which the Indians are told they may see if they like. Then they are told how well other islands who have had this notice have received his Majesty and obeyed him, listening without any resistance or delay to religious men, and becoming Christians, and how kind his Majesty has been to them. "Wherefore I entreat and require you," says Ojeda, or any other privateering discoverer, "that after taking due time to consider this, you acknowledge the Church as sovereign lady of the world, and the Pope in her name, and his Majesty, in his place, as lord of these isles and continent, and receive these religious men. If you do, his Majesty will greet you with all love and affection, and leave you your wives and children free, and will give you many privileges and exemptions. But if you do not, by the help of God I will enter with power into your land, and will subdue you, and will take your wives and children and make slaves of them, and sell them as such, and take all your goods, and do you all the mischief I can, as to vassals that do not obey and will not receive the lord. And I protest that all the death and destruction that may come from this is your fault, and not his Majesty's or mine, or that of my men."*

Whenever this proclamation had no effect, and it was scarcely in the interests of the proclaimers that it

* Form of Proclamation addressed to the Indians, quoted in "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen."

should have, new hostilities commenced, and those who were taken in war were branded and made slaves and the fifth part of them given to the king.*

That infernal engine of hierarchal power, the Inquisition, was established in America by the pious zeal of Philip II. in the year 1570, but the natives, from their incapacity, were exempted from the jurisdiction of this horrid tribunal. †

"Atrocious as the spectacle of the *autos de fé* seems in a more humane and enlightened age, it was regarded by the ancient Spaniard as a sacrifice grateful to Heaven, at which he was to rekindle the dormant embers of his own religious sensibilities.

"The cessation of the long Moorish war by the fall of Granada, made the most important change in the condition of the Spaniards. They, however, found a vent for their chivalrous fanaticism in a crusade against the heathen of the New World."‡

How vastly different were all these proceedings to the intention of the humane Isabella, Queen of Castile, who, with the exception, in after years, of Las Casas, was perhaps the only true friend and protector the unhappy Indians met with amongst the Spanish nation. Las Casas was converted to the cause of the Indians in the year 1515, and spent the remainder of his life in earnest, though often vain, endeavours to ameliorate their sufferings and better their condition.

* "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen."

† "A View of South America and Mexico."

‡ Prescott's "Life of Philip II."

It would have been well for these now depopulated countries that he had been able to carry out the instructions the queen left behind her.

"Wherefore," says the will of Isabella, "I very affectionately supplicate my lord the king, and charge and command my said daughter (Juana) that they act accordingly, and that this (the conversion of the Indians) should be their principal end, and that in it they should have much diligence, and that they should not consent or give occasion, that the Indians who dwell on these islands or on Terra Firma gained, or to be gained, *should receive any injury in their persons or goods, but should command that they be well and justly treated.* And if the Indians have received any injury, they (the king and her daughter Juana) should remedy it, and look that they do not infringe in any respect that which is enjoined and commanded in the words of the said concession (of the Pope)."*

"If it be permitted to departing spirits to see those places on earth they yearn much after, we might imagine that the soul of Isabella would give 'one long lingering look' to the far West. And if so, what did she see there? How different the aspect of things from aught she had thought of or commanded! She said that the Indians were to be free: she would have seen them slaves. She had declared that they were to have spiritual instruction; she would have seen them less instructed than the dogs. She had insisted that

* Will of Isabella, quoted in "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen."

they should receive pay: she would have found that all they received was a mockery of wages, just enough to purchase once, perhaps, in the course of the year, some childish trifles from Castile. She had always ordered kind treatment and proper maintenance for them: she would have seen them literally watching under the tables of their masters to catch the crumbs which fell there. She would have beheld the Indian labouring at the mine under cruel buffetings, his family neglected, perishing, or enslaved; she would have marked him on his return after eight months of dire toil, enter a place which knew him not, or a household that could only sorrow over the gaunt creature who had returned to them, and mingle their sorrows with his; or, still more sad, she would have seen Indians, who had been brought from far distant homes, linger at the mines, too hopeless, or too careless, to return."*

The destruction of Portobelo and Panamá and other settlements of the Spaniards by the bucaniers, in after years, appears like the first retribution for the misery they inflicted on the poor Indians. But to proceed. In December, 1502, Columbus relinquished his search for the strait he had imagined, and determined to return to the coast of Veragua to search for mines, of which he had heard much, and seen so many indications. "Here, then, ended the lofty anticipations which had elevated Columbus above all mercenary interests, which had made him regardless of hardship and perils, and given an heroic character to the early

* "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen."

part of this voyage. It is true he had been in the pursuit of a mere chimera, but it was the chimera of a splendid imagination and a penetrating judgment. If he was disappointed in his expectation of finding a strait through the Isthmus of Darien, it was because nature herself had been disappointed, for she appears to have attempted to make one, but to have attempted it in vain."*

"In attempting to discover a passage to Eastern India by the west, a short road to the gums and spices, the gold and gems of known and imaginary regions, Columbus had, as it were by accident, stumbled upon America."†

"The object of the great navigator was still the discovery of a route to India, but by the west instead of the east. He had no expectation of meeting with a continent in his way; and after his repeated voyages he remained in his original error, dying, as is well known, in the conviction that it was the eastern shore of Asia which he had reached."‡

How charming is the moral which Irving draws from the life of Columbus!—"Let," he says, "those who are disposed to faint under difficulties in the prosecution of any great and worthy undertaking, remember that eighteen years elapsed after the time that Columbus conceived his enterprise, before he was enabled to carry it into effect; that the greater part of

* Irving's "Life of Columbus."

† "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and the History of the Bucaniers."

‡ Prescott's "Peru."

that time was passed in almost hopeless solicitation, amidst poverty, neglect, and taunting ridicule; that the prime of his life had wasted away in the struggle, and that when his perseverance was finally crowned with success, he was about his fifty-sixth year. His example should encourage the enterprising never to despair."*

Sufficient has been quoted in the preceding pages to remind the reader of the main incidents connected with the discovery of America. The voyages which were undertaken for the colonization of the Terra Firma, or the continent of South America, "were, for the most part, disjointed undertakings, often fruitless and discreditable to those engaged in them, and very unsatisfactory and difficult to relate. But they led to great changes in the world. They give a picture of Spanish enterprise during that period, and show it spreading over the New World like water finding its level; unhappily, however, not in force or quantity enough to form great navigable rivers or deep seas, but merely wide, stagnant, unhealthy marshes."†

* Irving's "History of the Life and Voyages of Columbus."

† "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen."

CHAPTER III.

Discovery of the Pacific.—Settlement at Darien.—Introduction of Slavery. Indians of the Isthmus.—Attempted Colonization of Darien.—Scotch Expedition.—Old Panamá.—Puerto Bello.—Chagres.—Drake's View of the Pacific.

PASSING on, then, from the great achievement of Columbus, we remember, too, how, a few years later, in 1513, an insolvent debtor from Hespaniola, Vasco Nunez de Balboa, with a handful of followers, settled at Darien, and carried forward the discoveries of the admiral, in a manner more efficiently than any man who had yet succeeded him. It was Vasco Nunez who, having subdued or gained over several of the Indian chiefs, undertook and successfully carried out the then bold step of crossing the Isthmus which connects the continents of North and South America. At that time this was no easy undertaking, and we are told that it was only after twenty-five days of almost incredible hardship that he was rewarded on the 25th of September of that year by the glorious sight of the Pacific or Southern Ocean stretching in unlimited extent before them. "Vasco Nunez bade his men sit down, while he alone ascended and looked down upon the vast Pacific, the first man of the Old World, so far as we know, who had done so. Falling on his knees, he gave thanks to God for the favour shown to him in

his being the first man to discover and behold this sea."*

"Our knowledge that the Pacific, which Vasco Nunez then beheld, occupies more than one-half of the earth's surface, is an element of thought which, in our minds, lightens up and gives awe to this first gaze of his upon those mighty waters." † And how strange was the manner of this man's coming!

"In the midst of Encisco's cargo, unknown to its owner, was a barrel containing no provisions, but a living man. His name was Vasco Nunez de Balboa, an adventurer, a skilful master of the art of fencing, who, as he was in debt, and as indebted people might not leave the island of Hispaniola without the permission of the authorities, had secretly contrived to get into this barrel, and to form part of Encisco's stores."‡

The valorous Ojeda, the polished Nicuesa, and the flourishing lawyer Encisco, little dreamt that the conduct of their enterprise was to devolve upon a man who should furtively come out in a cask, to evade his creditors. He had, however, most of the qualities necessary for a great commander in those times. He was clever, crafty, courageous, forward in enterprise, good-humoured, and handsome.§ Such is the character we have of the discoverer of the Pacific.

The first distinct intimation of the great Pacific Ocean was given to Vasco Nunez by a young cacique of Darien. Thirty leagues from Darien was a country

* "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen."
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

called Comogra, situated on the sea coast, the cacique of which country was named Comogre. This chief being brought into friendly relations with the Spaniards, Vasco Nunez went with his men to visit him. The Spaniards were much surprised by the comfort and civilization which they found in this Indian chief's dwelling; indeed, it was the most like a palace of anything that had been seen since the discovery of the Indies. Comogre gave his Spanish visitors a splendid welcome, and presented them with four thousand pesos of gold and seventy slaves.

While the Spaniards were weighing out a fifth part of this gold, which belonged by right to the king, or dividing the residue amongst themselves, there arose, to use the words of an old translation of Peter Martyr, a "brabbling among the Spaniards about the dividing of the gold," when one of Comogre's sons seeing this miserable contention amongst the Spaniards, was disgusted at the clamour, and dashing with his hands the scales in which the gold was, and scattering it about, made the following speech:—"What is this, Christians? Is it for such a little thing that you quarrel? If you have such a love of gold that, to get it, you disquiet and harass the peaceful nations of these lands, and suffering such labours, banish yourselves from your own lands, I will show you a country where you may fulfil your desires, but it is necessary for this that you should be more in number than you are now, for you would have to fight your way with great kings, and amongst them, in the first place, with King

Tubanamá, who abounds with this gold, and whose country is distant from our country six suns."*. Then he signified to them by pointing with his finger, that this rich territory lay towards a sea, and southwards, which sea, he said, they would come to, passing over certain sierras, and where other nations had ships a little less in size than those of the Spaniards, navigated with sails and oars, and that traversing that sea, they would find a land of great riches, where the people had large vessels of gold, out of which they ate and drank, "where, indeed, there was more gold than there was iron in Biscay." This was the first notice of the Pacific, and also of Peru. It is likely that Pizarro was a bystander. After some little time had passed, Vasco Nunez resolved to be the discoverer of that sea, and of those rich lands to which Comogre's son had pointed. Accordingly, early in September, 1513, he set out on his renowned expedition for finding "the other sea," accompanied by a hundred and ninety men, well armed, and by dogs, which were of more avail than men (from the fear the Indians had of them), and by Indian slaves to carry the burthens. Making friends with some caciques and destroying others, the Spanish commander pursued his way up the most lofty sierras, until, on the 25th September, 1513, he came near to the top of a mountain, from whence the south sea was visible.†

We can almost pardon Balboa his excess of enthusiasm when he rushed into the sea knee deep, and took

* "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen." † Ibid.

possession of it in the name of his sovereign. As the old Scotchman, in Eliot Warburton's pretty romance, says:—"But of a' the uninspired impressions, I think that Balboa, when first he saw the great southern ocean burst upon his sicht, maun hae had the most glorious vision—a vision of things that could no be uttered—a visible, vague, prophetic glory—a good that was to come upon the earth in latter days. Nae doot the avaricious auld trooper understood little eneugh what sublime sensation was swelling his mind, and thought it was all mere gold, gold, gold! that fired his fancy with glorious images that he could na shape. But there was something grand, too, in how he hasted down to the new ocean, an' rushed in till it, breast high, brandishin' his sword over his head, and shoutin' out, 'Inhabitants of two hemispheres, Spaniards and Indians both, I call ye to witness that I take possession of this part of the universe for the Crown of Castile. What my arm hath won for that crown, my sword shall defend!' and sae sure eneugh, for nearly two hundred years did the bluidy sword of Spain wave over those countries, and the arm of Spain oppress them sairly."*

Darien was first settled as a colony about the year 1510, when the Bachelor Eneas, one of the companions of Columbus, was in doubt and despondency as to where to bend his steps after the failure of the establishment of a colony at San Sebastian. Vasco Nunez de Balboa, the absconding debtor, who had been smug-

* Warburton's "Darien."

gled on board in a cask, stepped forward to give his counsel, and by his advice the party proceeded and took possession of the Indian settlement of Darien, to which, in the fulfilment of a vow, Encisco gave the name of Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien.* But it was not, in those days, all honour and glory for the settler; for "certain it is," observes the venerable Las Casas, "the sufferings of the Spaniards in the New World in search of wealth, have been more cruel and severe than ever nation in the world endured."† "The perils that lay in the discoverer's path, and the sufferings he had to sustain, were scarcely inferior to those that beset the knight errant. Hunger, and thirst, and fatigue, the deadly effluvia of the morass, with its swarms of venomous insects, the cold of mountain snows, and the scorching sun of the tropics, these were the lot of every cavalier who came to seek his fortunes in the New World. It was the reality of romance. The life of the Spanish adventurer was one chapter more, and not the least remarkable, in the chronicles of knight errantry.‡"

And the lot of Vasco Nunez was no exception to the rule. He was rewarded for his great discovery, by the title, without the offices, of Adelantado of the South Sea, and governor of Coyba, and of the then Indian settlement of Panamá. But shortly afterwards he was beheaded at the caprice of his implacable old father-in-law, the new governor of Darien, who had been sent out to rule his colony. "Thus perished Vasco Nunez,

* Irving's "Life of Columbus." † Ibid. ‡ Prescott's "Peru."

the man who, since the time of Columbus, had shown the most statesman-like and warrior-like powers in that part of the world." *

Pedrarias Davila, his destroyer, was appointed Governor of Darien, July 27, 1513. It was a post much sought after; and the news of the discovery of the Pacific, carried to Spain by messengers of Vasco Nunez, served to increase the importance of the appointment, and to increase the numbers of the new expedition, which accompanied the new governor. "All Spain was in a state of excitement at the idea of fishing up gold with nets." When the new governor arrived at Seville, he found no fewer, than two thousand young men eager to be enrolled in his forces, and "not a small number of avaricious old men, many of whom offered to go at their own expense."† "The governor himself has the character of having been a "suspicious, fiery, arbitrary old man." His treatment of Vasco Nunez, and his cruelty towards the unhappy Indians, certainly do not appear to have entitled him to be remembered by more amiable characteristics. His expedition was, however, hardly less fortunate than those of his predecessors. The situation of Darien was then, as now, very unhealthy, and the new comers not only suffered from the effects of the climate, but from those of sheer hunger. On disembarking, the provisions brought by the fleet had been divided amongst the men; but the flour and the

* "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen."
† Ibid.

greatest part of the provisions were found to have been spoilt by the sea. "Men in silks and brocades absolutely perished of hunger, and might be seen feeding like cattle upon herbage. One of the principal hidalgos went through the streets saying that he was perishing of hunger, and in sight of the whole town dropt down dead. In less than a month seven hundred men perished."*

The friendly Indian chiefs or caciques, who had been dutiful to Vasco Nunez, came with their gold to this new Spanish governor; but their people were harassed and made slaves, and their wives were carried off. The poor Indians suffered indeed unprecedented cruelties at the hands of Pedrarias and his captains, and the caciques were even burned alive when they did not, or could not, produce the amount of booty which the Spanish captains demanded. Pedrarias also fitted out expeditions to the South Sea to search for pearls, and great numbers of most valuable pearls were obtained even before the time of Pizarro's conquests in the Pacific.† This governor, Pedrarias, had the courage to take with him his wife, who was, we are told, the first European lady who landed at the Isthmus of Panamá, or indeed on the coast of Spanish America. One writer remarks with much truth that she was a courageous woman.‡ Three-hundred and fifty years have elapsed since this lady landed at Darien; and the European lady who even

* "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen." † Ibid.
‡ "Lives of Balboa, Cortes, and Pizarro." Harper Brothers, New York.

now went to settle where Doña Isabella de Bobadilla settled, would, I think, be a courageous woman too.

During the temporary amelioration in the sufferings of the Indians, which was brought about by Las Casas, under the regency of Cardinal Ximenes, the Jeronimite Fathers made some efforts to suppress the cruel policy of Pedrarias, the governor of Darien. "They wrote, in 1517, to Pedrarias, of whose proceedings they seem to have been made well aware, ordering him to make no more expeditions, and to send an account of the gold and slaves which had been the fruit of his past enterprises. They went even much further, and desired that Pedrarias, taking into council the Bishop of Darien and some learned men, theologians and jurists, should examine whether those Indians whom his captains had brought back, were justly made slaves; and if not, that they should be restored. These same learned men were also to make it a subject of inquiry whether these entries into the country were lawful."* With that inconsistency frequent in human conduct, while the sovereigns of Spain (in the year 1501) were making regulations for the relief of the Indians, they encouraged a gross invasion of the rights and welfare of another race of human beings. Among their various decrees on this occasion, we find the first trace of negro slavery in the New World.†

"At the same time it was provided that no Jews,

* "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen."

† Irving's "Life of Columbus."

Moors, or new converts were to go to the Indies, or to be permitted to remain there; but negro slaves 'born in the power of Christians' were to be allowed to pass to the Indies, and the officers of the royal revenue were to receive the money to be paid for their permits." *

"It was permitted to carry to the colony negro slaves born among Christians, that is to say, slaves born in Seville and other parts of Spain, the children and descendants of natives brought from the Atlantic coast of Africa, where such traffic had for some time been carried on by the Spaniards and Portuguese." † "For in the year 1444, Europe may be said to have made a distinct beginning in the slave trade, henceforth to spread on all sides like the waves upon stirred water, and not like them to become fainter and fainter as the circles widen." ‡

It was thus that negro slavery was introduced into the New World, and extended to the settlements of Terra Firma, where it continued to exist, until the independence in the year 1821, in New Granada. From this date the emancipation in New Granada was gradual but effective. All slaves born after 1821 were free by birth, but they owed their masters service in payment for their food and clothing until they attained the age of eighteen years, when they were set free—and in the year 1850, the government redeemed, by

* "Herrera," quoted in "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen."

† Irving's "History of the Life and Voyages of Columbus."

‡ "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen."

paying compensation to the owners, all those who had not at that time attained their freedom. There are now no slaves in New Granada. But with this early and repeated importation of negroes into the New World, and the cruel and wanton destruction of the Indians, it is easy to account for the colour and characteristics of the races which appear now to form the people of the Isthmus of Panamá.

"The Indians who at present inhabit the Isthmus are said to amount to about ten thousand. They are scattered over Bocas del Toro, the northern portions of Veraguas, the north-eastern shores of Panamá, and almost the whole of Darien, and consist principally of four tribes, the Savanerics, the San Blas Indians, the Bayanos and the Cholas. Every tribe speaks a different language, and they not unfrequently wage war against each other.

"The Savanerics occupy the northern portion of Veraguas, and appear to be most numerous in a district situated a few days' journey from the village of Las Palmas. One of their chiefs has adopted the pompous title of King Lora Montezuma, and pretends to be a descendant of the Mexican emperor. Almost every year he sends ambassadors to Santiago, the capital of Veraguas, to inform the authorities that he is the legitimate lord of the country, and that he protests against any assumption on the part of the New Granadian Government. Although no credit can be attached to the belief that King Lora is a descendant of the great Montezuma, yet there is reason to sup-

pose, and future investigations may tend to corroborate the supposition, that his subjects are a distant branch of the great family of Anahuac. A direct intercourse still existed, at the time of the discovery, between the southern portions of the Mexican empire and Veraguas. Little golden eagles, the national emblems of Mexico, are frequently met with in the tombs of the district, and chocolate is still the prevalent drink. Such facts are indeed quite important enough in themselves to draw upon this tribe the attention of the ethnologist. Unfortunately, no European has as yet had time to study, and the Spanish inhabitants are too indolent, and, it may be added, too much prejudiced against the Indians, to be ever able to draw correct conclusions, or to make proper use of the rich ethnological materials scattered around them.

The Manzanillo, or San Blas Indians, inhabit the north-eastern portion of the province of Panamá. They occasionally visit Portobello and the neighbouring villages, and live almost in constant feud with the Bayanos. They are probably the same tribe which came in conflict with Columbus's crew during his fourth voyage of discovery, when, unlike most savages, they exhibited no fear at the discharge of cannon. The thunder of man probably appeared to them but insignificant when compared with the terrible tornadoes so frequently visiting their coast. All, however, must remain a matter of conjecture until we know more, or, to speak plainly, until we know something about them. At present our knowledge

of this tribe is merely nominal, and of its language we are ignorant.

The Bayanos inhabit the district about the river Chepo, and are a martial people, who, up to this time, have preserved their independence, jealously guarding their territory against the white man. Their dislike to Spaniards and their descendants is intense, and strongly contrasts with their friendly disposition towards the British — a feeling entertained since the days of Dampier and Wafer. Annually, British vessels touch at the northern coast for the purpose of trading, and it is probable from that source some of the Bayanos have obtained a smattering of English. Their cacique has frequently paid visits to the British representative at Panamá, yet there the friendship ended; the consul, on asking permission to show the same mark of attention to the chief, was told that no European was allowed to enter their country, and if the Consul should attempt such a journey, it would cost him his life.*"

When in charge of Her Majesty's Consulate at Panamá, I was myself once honoured with a visit of a party of three or four of these Indians. They remained seated at my house for about a couple of hours, but they entered into very little conversation, which was carried on in Spanish. They wore long hair, almost like a woman's, but had nothing else peculiar about their dress, being attired similarly to the people of the town, in cotton drawers and shirt.

* Dr. Seeman: "Voyage of H.M.S. Herald."

One of these Indians, a "chief," used frequently to visit Panamá. A friend of mine established some sort of intimacy with him, and, on one occasion, presented him with a coat and a stick, on his departure for his native forests. A short time afterwards, the presents were returned with a sad message from the poor Indian, who had been degraded by the superior for his want of loyalty to his tribe, in having accepted even these trifling presents from the natural enemy, the white man.

"The Cholo Indians are one of the most diffused tribes of tropical America, extending, as they do, from the Gulf of San Miguel to the Bay of Choco, and thence, with few interruptions, to the northern parts of the republic of Ecuador. We can follow them all along the coast, from lat. 2° 0′ to 8° 30′ N., recognising them by their peculiar mode of raising their habitations upon posts, six or eight feet above the ground. The fact that the Cholos have such a wide range, explains an historical puzzle. When reading of the discovery of Peru, how the Spaniards gradually pushed southwards along the shores of America, everywhere inquiring after the empire of the Incas, and even obtaining information of the city of Cuzco, we are at a loss to explain how the discoverers could understand the stories related to them, how the two parties could make themselves intelligible. Even the best historians have not explained this puzzle. But the fact that the same language is spoken from San Miguel, to the northern

boundaries of Ecuador, where the Quichua commences, and that it was familiar to the Spaniards, before starting on their expedition, renders the proceeding intelligible. We now comprehend how the existence of the empire of the Incas could be known on the banks of Churchunque; how Balboa could receive intelligence of the Llama, and other productions of Peru, and how the barks of Pizano could collect information from the lips of natives who had never before beheld the face of a white man.*

"The territory of the Tayronas is a mountainous valley bounded on all sides by ridges covered with perpetual snow, which rank among the highest in the world, being, according to the measurement made by me, 23,779 feet above the level of the sea. The only port is Santa Marta, or perhaps one or two inlets at the mouth of the rivers east of that city, and not far from it. . . . . .

"According to some writers, the Tayronas understood the art of smelting certain metals, and remains of their foundries have been seen in several places. The ornaments they wore were of gold, and coarsely executed; but strangely enough, even at the present day, figures of reptiles made of debased gold are dug up near Santa Marta, and particularly Bonda, worked with the most exquisite minuteness and skill. The same excellent workmanship has been noticed in the images recently discovered in an ancient cemetery near Chiriqui; and perhaps this coincidence may be regarded

* Dr. Seeman: "Voyage of H.M.S. Herald."

as a confirmation of the tradition that the dominion of the Tayronas, or some other nation of even remote antiquity, once extended from the Sierra Nevada to the Isthmus of Panamá." *

Readers of the history of the bucaniers will remember that it was at the hands of certain of the Darien Indians that the famous and terrible French bucanier, Lolonnois, met a death worthy of his enormous crimes. By these Indians, into whose hands he fell, and who were not unacquainted with the atrocities of the bucaniers, he was torn alive limb from limb, his body consumed and the ashes scattered abroad, "to the intent," says his historian, "that no trace might remain of such an infamous creature." †

The former rich mines of Darien have long since been abandoned to the untamable Indians, to whom this tract of country has been left, and who have never been reduced to subjection by any government.

Some account of the former mines of Darien will be found in page 333, in an extract of a "Report of the Physical and Political Geography of Panamá."

In reference to the colonization of Darien, we learn that the archbishop Gongora, after having been named viceroy of New Granada in the year 1777, made several attempts to colonize the inhospitable shores of Darien. He was the first Spanish chief in New Granada who

* Extract from "Report on the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta," by John May, C.E.; quoted in "New Granada; its Internal Resources," by John Powles.

† "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and the History of the Bucaniers."

relaxed the severe prohibitions that existed relative to treating with foreigners. Having formed the idea of providing provisions, munitions of war, and even colonists from the foreign colonies, he sent commissioners to different points. Three went to Jamaica, others to Curaçao, and to the United States of America. These were to procure provisions of foreign flour, which they obtained in abundance. They were also instructed to solicit families of colonists for the new establishments at Darien. About 150 families were in this manner obtained about the year 1783, and conveyed to those deserted, inhospitable and unhealthy coasts. But almost all of them, together with many others, from Carthagena, Santa Marta, and Panamá, became victims to the unhealthiness of the climate, and to the hatred of the Indians. Thus little or no advance was made in the colonization of Darien at this time, although more than a million of dollars were expended in the attempt, and a multitude of lives sacrificed; among these were the greater part of a regiment sent from Spain for the conquest of Darien in 1785.

Gongora's successor had hardly taken office in 1789, when he reported, to the court at Madrid, unfavourably of the establishments at Darien, which he depicted as ruinous alike to the population and interests of the kingdom. His project of abandoning them was approved by the Spanish ministry, the houses were burned down, and the population was withdrawn, and those of the foreign colonists who remained alive were

sent, if they requested it, back to their previous domiciles. Even Caiman, which it was at first intended to preserve, was abandoned in 1791, from the want of resources and from the inconvenience of sending troops to defend it from the warlike Indians by which it was surrounded. Thus only remained the memory of those establishments which had cost such enormous sums, and so many lives and cares." *

But to keep to our narrative.

It was, as I have said, when intelligence of Balboa's success reached Spain, that the king sent out a new expedition with a new governor for Darien, who ultimately perceiving the unsuitableness of the locality for prosecuting further voyages of discovery, and the expeditions on the Pacific, which were then contemplated, procured permission in 1519 to remove the colony to Panamá, with the additional object of obtaining a better climate than that of Darien; and here, at an Indian village called Panamá, was formed the first Spanish city in the South Sea.

Darien became familiar to English ears from the scheme of Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, who projected that expedition which in the year 1698 started for Darien with upwards of a thousand emigrants, stout hearts from old Scotland; but of which, after one short year, only thirty of the lusty adventurers survived to land at Charleston, in America, to tell the sad tale of their failure. "Then went forth our Scots, pioneers of a new power, that, though quelled

* Restrepo's "Historia de Colombia."

for a time, will yet rule those glorious countries wi' righteous justice and gospel law." *

Paterson thought, or perhaps hoped, to realize in those days on the isthmus that which in our time has only in part been brought about at Panamá. The consumption of European produce was to be doubled, trade was to increase trade, money to beget money, "and the trading world to need not more work for its hands, but more hands for its work." "The Indians, original proprietors of the soil, were to welcome to their fertile shores the honest and honourable settler." †

Darien was, however, occupied for several years as a rendezvous for the naval and military forces sent out to the new possessions and as a temporary deposit for the riches accumulated, and was also for some time the head-quarters of the Church authorities, established in the new world.‡

The settlement at Panamá, on the western coast of the Isthmus of Darien, greatly facilitated the plans of adventurers in that quarter, and became, in some measure, the parent of most of the early settlements on the coast of the Southern Ocean. But their original city, founded after the discovery of the Pacific by Balboa, was doomed to but a short life. It was destroyed by fire when taken by the bucaniers under Morgan, in the year 1671—of which an account will be found in the pages which follow.

But all writers agree with Prescott, or rather Pres-

* Warburton's Darien. † Ibid.

‡ "A View of South America and Mexico."

cott agrees with them, that the new location of the early colony contributed greatly to the subsequent discoveries and conquests of Spain in the Pacific, while the port of Panamá, "from its central position, afforded the best point of departure for expeditions, whether to the north or south, along the wide range of undiscovered coast that lined the Southern Ocean." *

After the death of Vasco Nunez, the colony of Darien continued to extend their knowledge of the Pacific, while, in addition to the gold of the coast, the Spaniards exacted from the conquered Indians of the Pearl Islands annual tribute in pearls. As the hope of reaching the Oriental Spice Islands by a passage through a strait decayed, the design was formed of establishing a regular intercourse across the Isthmus, and an entrepôt between the Old and the New World; and the settlement was formed at Panamá, from whence vessels were to visit those eastern isles.†

But the ancient site of Panamá was doubtless "a most unhealthy spot, and próved to be the cemetery of many an unfortunate colonist,"‡ though it was still somewhat better in this respect than Darien.§

It was at Panamá, in 1524, that Francisco Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, who was one of the earliest settlers at Darien, in company with Diego de Almagro, a soldier of fortune, and a priest named Hernando Luque, the

* Prescott's "Peru."

† "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers." ‡ Prescott's "Peru."

§ The city of Panamá was granted a royal charter by Charles V. in 1521, with the title of "Very noble and very loyal."

vicar of Panamá, formed that expedition which was the forerunner of the rich and magnificent conquests of South America.

Pizzaro sailed in the service of Alonzo de Ojeda from San Domingo on the 10th November, 1509, and proceeded to Carthagena. He was afterwards left in command at San Sebastian as lieutenant of Ojeda. He subsequently proceeded to Darien, and thence to Panamá, from which place he was enabled to form his expedition to Peru.*

For years after the conquest of Peru, the entire commerce of the southern colonies was carried on by way of the Isthmus. The annual fleet of galleons from Spain proceeded regularly to Portobelo, or Puertobello, the then chief Atlantic port of the Isthmus, and the mart of all the rich commerce of the newly-discovered coasts of Chili and Peru. Here the valuable produce of the mines, and other articles which those wealthy countries afforded for exportation, were bartered for the rich cargoes of the galleons. On the arrival of the galleons and the merchants from Peru and the provinces, a fair was held at Portobelo, which lasted about forty days, and during which the commercial transactions took place. The transit of the Isthmus in those days was made in part by mules, and in part by means of the river Chagres.†

It was on the 2nd November, 1502, that the squadron of Columbus, after exploring Costa Rica and

* Irving's "Life of Columbus and Companions."

† "A View of Spanish America and Mexico."

Veragua, "anchored in a spacious and commodious harbour, where the vessels could approach close to the shore without danger. It was surrounded by an elevated country, open and cultivated, with houses within bow-shot of each other, surrounded by fruit trees, and groves of palms, and fields producing maize, vegetables, and the delicious pine-apple, so that the whole neighbourhood had the mingled appearance of orchard and garden. Columbus was so pleased with the excellence of the harbour and the sweetness of the surrounding country that he gave it the name of Puerto Bello. It is one of the few places along this coast which retain the appellation given by the illustrious discoverer. It is to be regretted that they have so generally been discontinued, as they were the records of his feelings and of circumstances attending the discovery.*

Portobelo, as it is now spelt, lies in lat. 9·34 N., long. 79·44 W. The town was not commenced until the reign of Philip II.; but soon after its foundation, it became of importance by being made the port through which the trade with Spain and Western America was carried on, and by the great annual fair held there. Portobelo was looked upon with envy by other nations, and suffered frequent attacks—the first time by Sir Francis Drake, in 1595, during the wars between Philip II. of Spain and Elizabeth of England.†

It was here that Sir Francis Drake died of a lingering fever, brought on by the disappointment which had

* Irving's "Life of Columbus."

† Pim's "Gate of the Pacific."

attended his later enterprises, under which he lingered for three weeks. He expired, while his fleet lay off Portobelo, on the 28th January, 1596, in his fifty-first year, and here his remains were committed to the deep. In 1668 Portobelo was plundered of vast riches and partially destroyed by the English bucanier, Morgan, who subsequently destroyed Panamá, and afterwards obtained from Charles II. the honour of knighthood, and became deputy-governor of Jamaica.

With nine ships and boats, and four hundred and sixty of his countrymen, Morgan resolved to assault Portobelo. The first fort or castle was deliberately blown up, by fire being set to the powder magazine, after many miserable prisoners, whose mangled limbs soon darkened the air, had been huddled into one room. Resistance was still attempted by the Spaniards, which greatly exasperated the besiegers, as it was into the forts which held out that the wealthy inhabitants had retired with their treasures and valuables. One strong fort it was necessary to carry without delay, and, broad scaling-ladders being constructed, Morgan compelled his prisoners to fix them to the walls. Many of those employed in this office were priests and nuns, dragged for this purpose from the cloisters. These, it was thought, their countrymen would spare; while, under their protection, the bucaniers might advance without being exposed to the fire of the castle. In these trying circumstances, forgetting the claims of country and the sacred character of the innocent persons exposed to suffering so unmerited, the Spanish governor consulted

only his official duty; and, while the unhappy prisoners of the bucaniers implored his mercy, continued to pour shot upon all who approached the walls, whether pirates or the late peaceful inhabitants of the cloisters, his stern answer being that he would never surrender alive. Many of the friars and nuns were killed before the scaling-ladders could be fixed; but, that done, the bucaniers, carrying with them fire-balls and pots full of gunpowder, boldly mounted the walls, poured in their combustibles and speedily effected an entrance. All the Spaniards demanded quarter, except the governor, who died fighting in presence of his wife and daughter, declaring that he chose rather to die as a brave soldier, than be hanged as a coward. The next act in the horrid drama of bucaniering conquest followed rapidly—pillage, cruelty, brutal license,—the freebooters giving themselves up to so mad a course of riot and debauchery, that fifty resolute men might have cut them off and regained the town, had the panic-struck Spaniards been able to form any rational plan of action, or to muster a force.

During these fifteen days of demoniacal revel, interrupted only by torturing the prisoners to make them give up treasures which they did not possess, many of the bucaniers died from the consequences of their own brutal excesses, and Morgan deemed it expedient to draw off his force.

Information had by this time reached the Governor of Panamá; and although aid was distant from the miserable inhabitants of Portobelo, it might still come.

Morgan, therefore, carried off a good many of the guns, spiked the rest, fully supplied his ship with every necessary store, and having already plundered all that was possible, insolently demanded an exorbitant ransom for the preservation of the city, and for his prisoners, and prepared to depart from the coast. These terms he even sent to the Governor of Panamá, who was approaching the place, and whose force the bucaniers intercepted in a narrow pass, and compelled to retreat. The inhabitants collected among themselves a hundred thousand pieces of eight, which Morgan graciously accepted and retired to his ships.

The astonishment of the Governor of Panamá, at so small a force carrying the town and the forts, and holding them so long, induced him, it is said, to send a message to the bucanier leader, requesting a specimen of the arms which he used. Morgan received the messenger with civility, gave him a pistol and a few bullets, and ordered him to bid the president to accept of so slender a pattern of the weapons with which he had taken Portobelo, and to keep it for a twelvemonth, at the end of which time he (Morgan) proposed to come to Panamá to fetch it away. The Governor returned the loan with a gold ring, and requested Morgan not to give himself the trouble of travelling so far, certifying to him that he would not fare so well as he had done at Portobelo. On this subject Morgan formed and afterwards acted upon his own opinions.*

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

Don Perez de Guzman, then Governor of Panamá, had on several occasions sent assistance to the beleaguered towns, but little success however, attended his arms.*

On the declaration of war with Spain by England, in the reign of George II., Admiral Sir Edward Vernon commenced the attack on the Spanish colonies, by taking Portobelo. On the 5th November, 1740, the troops from the admiral's squadron were disembarked, the forts were taken, and the town capitulated. But this conquest produced less than was anticipated; most of the riches and effects of value had been previously removed, together with the ships; only three small vessels, and about three thousand dollars in treasure, fell into the hands of the captors.

It was considered by the Spanish government that Portobelo should not have surrendered to the small force under Admiral Vernon, and the Governor of the place was tried by court-martial for his proceeding. The attack of Portobelo was only the prelude to the operation which Great Britain meditated against the Spanish colonies. In March of the following year, the more important attack of Carthagena was made.†

In the year 1819 an expedition was prepared in England which was said to be destined to free New Granada from the Spanish yoke. It was originated chiefly by General M'Gregor, who had previously served in New Granada and Venezuela.

* "Tropical Wanderings by Oran," in "Harper's Magazine." Sept., 1859.

† Restrepo's "Historia de Colombia."

Four hundred and seventeen soldiers were recruited in the United Kingdom, and were conveyed in two merchant vessels, convoyed by an armed brigantine first to Haiti, and thence to Portobelo. With the preparation which M'Gregor had also made in Haiti, he appeared in Portobelo with five vessels, including an armed launch. Disembarking his forces, he took possession of the port on the 8th April, after a feeble resistance from the Spanish garrison, which comprised only ninety men: this important port was, twenty-one days afterwards, retaken by the Spanish forces from Panamá. The English who were then made prisoners were conveyed to Panamá, twelve of the officers were sent to Darien, from whence they afterwards returned to Panamá, and ten of them were shot. The other prisoners were condemned to labour in the public roads of Panamá and Portobelo, hardly a less cruel fate! At Portobelo the Governor, Santa Cruz, subjected a hundred who were committed to his tender mercies to such barbarous treatment that they were quickly sacrificed, much to the delight of their executioner, who wrote to the general commanding at Panamá, "that if he wished to get quickly rid of his prisoners, he should send them to Portobelo." In Panamá cruel Spaniards were also not wanting. The hard labour, damp prisons, malaria and scarce food, carried nearly all the unhappy English prisoners to the grave; so that when an order was received at Panamá for them to be set at liberty, after the Spaniards had compelled Ferdinand VII. in 1820 to

proclaim the constitution of the Cortes at Cadiz, hardly forty half-dead men remained, of which number several died previously to their arrival at Chagres, where they were to embark for their native country. To such fate as this were exposed the British legion who left their homes to fight in the cause of South American independence.*

Portobelo, which once contained two castles, nearly two hundred houses, and eight thousand inhabitants, is now abandoned. "After the war of independence, the traffic was conducted by way of Chagres, which, though not a regular harbour, has some advantages over Portobelo." † It is not probable that this once important port will ever arise again to a position anything like that which it formerly enjoyed, although it was lately proposed by one of the senators from Panamá that a condition of the extension of the privilege of the present railway contract by the Government of New Granada, should be the establishment of a second line of railway across the Isthmus from the north of the city of Portobelo, but with what object or particular advantage to the State it does not appear.

From the time that Portobelo was abandoned, Chagres, for several years, continued to be the ingress port to the Isthmus of Panamá, by which all manufactures were then introduced and imported. But the entrance to this port was, and is still, impeded by a narrow and shallow bar over which vessels of great draught of

* Restrepo's "Historia de Colombia."

† Pim's "Gate of the Pacific."

water could not pass. "The town of Chagres like Portobelo, is one of the most miserable and unhealthy in the country; it lies at the mouth of the river of the same name, in lat. 9°. 18′ 6 N., long. 79°. 59′ 2″ W. and is guarded by the castle of Lorenzo, a dark looking fortification. This castle is situated on a high rock at the entrance of the river, and was destroyed in 1671 by Henry Morgan, but a few years after was rebuilt by the Spaniards."* The distance between Chagres and Portobelo is about twelve leagues. The town of Chagres, like its predecessor Portobelo, has been almost abandoned since the establishment of the rivals of both, Colon. It contains now hardly a thousand inhabitants, if so many—nearly all of whom are negroes, and Indians—and, like Portobelo it is doomed to rise no more.

But up to the time of the establishment of Navy Bay as the Atlantic port of the Isthmus, the port of Chagres was still used. In the month of November, 1851, two large steamers, which had proceeded to Chagres for the purpose of landing their passengers, were driven by tempestuous weather to take refuge in the harbour of Navy Bay; and from about this time the port of Chagres was abandoned for that of Colon. Dr. Autenrieth, speaking of it at the time that it was the port for the Isthmus passengers says: "Chagres is, as already stated, an unhealthy place, but it cannot be denied that a great deal of the sickness prevailing here must be ascribed to the terribly bad food every

* Pim's "Gate of the Pacific."

one is compelled to eat. It is surprising that a place connected with the United States by almost weekly steam communication, should be devoid not only of all comfort but even of necessary and digestible food. It is therefore no wonder that with the help of a bad climate, sickness is prevalent, and that nearly every one who stays there any considerable time, is attacked by the so-called Chagres fever — a marsh fever certainly of no bad character, but generally complicated, and difficult to manage. Let a man live in the healthiest place in the world, as he is compelled to live in Chagres, and some disease or other will attack him. The port of Chagres is not worth much, the channel is narrow, and only fit for vessels which do not draw over eleven or twelve feet; there is, besides, danger from a rock which runs out from the castle to some distance." * This was Chagres in its palmy days of Isthmus travel. Another of the Atlantic ports of the Isthmus to which some historical interest is attached is Nombre de Dios—a place interesting to Englishmen from the adventure of Captain Drake.

In the year 1572, Francis Drake, who was stimulated to action by the conduct of the Spaniards and the treachery which he had received at their hands when commanding the 'Judith,' under Hawkins, and with that love of adventure which characterized him and others, in the reign of Elizabeth—landed a party of men at the port of Nombre de Dios. The town was at that time, what Portobelo afterwards became,

* "A Few Words to the Traveller," by Dr. Autenrieth. New York.

the entrepôt between the commodities and the wealth of the new colonies. Here, from information obtained from a tribe of Indians, who lived in hostility to the Spaniards, he resolved to intercept the mules employed to carry treasure from Panamá to Nombre de Dios. And it was on this expedition across the Isthmus, that Drake first saw the Pacific, and received that inspiration, which, in the words of Callebdere, 'left him no rest in his own mind until he had accomplished his purpose of sailing an English ship in those seas.*

"The early records of maritime enterprise relate no incident more striking than the adventure of Captain Francis Drake, forcing his way across the Isthmus of Darien, and ascending that goodly and great high tree, from whence he could look back upon the shores of the Atlantic, where his ship lay, and forward, in the distance, descry that new and mighty ocean, the subject of so many golden dreams and ambitious hopes. When we read that in the enthusiasm of that moment, Drake lifted up his hands 'and besought Almighty God of his goodness to give him life and leave to sail once an English ship upon that sea,' time and space are forgotten, as we unconsciously breathe 'Amen' to a prayer so gloriously fulfilled.

"Though the previous voyages of Magellan and his successors deny Sir Francis Drake the honour of being the first navigator in the South Seas, he was not only

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

the first Englishman that traversed a large portion of the Pacific in its length and breadth, and circumnavigated the terraqueous globe, but an eminent and successful discoverer in the most brilliant era of maritime adventure." *

And now we come to the destruction of Panamá by Henry Morgan, the famous buccaneer or bucanier.†

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

† The term was adopted from the Carib Indians, who called the flesh which they prepared Boucan.—*History of the Bucaniers.*

CHAPTER IV.

Destruction of Old Panamá.—Foundation of the present city.—Spanish policy in the Colonies.—The new city of Panamá.

"THE bucaniers owe their origin to the monopolizing spirit and selfish and jealous policy with which Spain administered the affairs of her West India colonies. Early in the sixteenth century, both English and French ships bound on trafficking adventures had found their way to these settlements; but it was not till after the enterprises of Drake, Raleigh, and Cumberland, that they became frequent. The jealousy of Spain had been alarmed by their first appearance; and the adoption of that system of offensive interference with the vessels of every nation that ventured near the tropic soon gave rise to the well-known maxim of the bucaniers 'no peace beyond the Line.'*

"It was step by step that the narrow policy of the Spaniards raised up those predatory hordes haunting the ocean and the coasts, which, from infringing their absurd commercial laws, or shooting a wild bullock in the forests, came at last continually to infest their

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

trade and to destroy and pillage their richest settlements.*

"The first remarkable exploits of the bucaniers at sea were performed by the French, and among their first brilliant exploits which led the way to many others, was the capture in 1655, of a richly-laden galleon, vice-admiral of the yearly Spanish fleet. This was achieved by Pierre Legrand a native of Dieppe, who by one bold stroke gained fame and fortune.

"The enterprise by which Pierre Legrand had in one night gained fame and fortune, was a signal for half the hunters and planters of Tortuga, the French settlement, to rush to sea. Campeachy, and even the shores of New Spain, were now within their extended range of cruising, and their expeditions became daily more distant and bold. The Spaniards found it necessary to arm ships to protect the coast trade as well as the galleons and flota. The Indian fleet and the treasure ships were always the especial mark of the pirates who found no species of goods so convenient either for transport or division as pieces of eight. †

The destruction of the city of Panamá by the bucaniers under Morgan, in 1671, was an achievement which exceeded all that had hitherto been done by the sea rovers.

The bucanier fleet for this undertaking consisted of thirty-seven vessels, fully provisioned. The fighting men amounted to 2,000. Panamá was selected as the

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers." † Ibid.

place of attack, in preference to Vera Cruz and Carthagena, which were deliberated upon by the bucanier council, from extravagant notions entertained in Europe and the West Indies of its amazing wealth, and of the great riches of Peru.

From the conveniently situated Island of Providence, Morgan detached a force of 400 men to attack the Castle of Chagres, the possession of which he judged necessary to the success of his future operations against Panamá. It was eventually carried by the accident of fire communicating with the powder magazine, which blew up the defences. Of the garrison of 314 men, only 30 were taken alive, and of these few 20 were wounded. Not a single officer escaped.*

"From the survivors of the siege, the bucanier party learned that the Governor of Panamá was already apprized of their design against that place; that all along the course of the River Chagres ambuscades were laid, and that a force of 3,600 men awaited their arrival. But this did not deter Morgan, who pressed forward for Chagres the instant that he received intelligence of the capture of the castle.

"The English colours flying upon the Castle of Chagres was a sight of joy to the main body of the bucaniers upon their arrival. Morgan was admitted into the fort by the triumphant advanced troops, with all the honours of conquest. Before his arrival, the wounded, the widows of the soldiers killed in the siege,

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

and other women of the place, had been shut up in the church, and subjected to the most brutal treatment. To their fate Morgan was entirely callous, but he lost no time in setting the prisoners to work in repairing the defences, &c. These arrangements concluded, Morgan left a garrison of 500 men in the Castle of Chagres, and in the ships 150, while at the head of 1200 bucaniers he, on the 18th January, 1671, commenced his inland voyage to Panamá, indifferent about, or determined to brave, the Spanish ambuscades."* Their progress was continued alternately by land and by water, and was attended with great inconvenience and hardships, want of provisions being amongst the number. "So extremely were they pinched with hunger, that the leather bags found at a deserted Spanish station, formed a delicious meal. About this delicacy they even quarrelled, and, it is said, openly regretted that no Spaniards were found, as, failing provisions, they had resolved to have roasted or boiled a few of the enemy, to satisfy their ravening appetites."†

"At a village called Cruces, perceiving from a distance a great smoke, they joyfully promised themselves rest and refreshments, but on reaching it, found it abandoned and in flames. The only animals remaining, the dogs and cats of the village, fell an immediate sacrifice to the wolfish hunger of the bucaniers."‡

"On the morning of the ninth day of the march,

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers." † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

from a high mountain, the majestic South Sea was joyfully descried, with ships and boats sailing upon its bosom, and peacefully setting out from the concealed port of Panamá. Herds of cattle, horses, and mules, feeding in the valley below the eminence on which they stood formed a sight not less welcome. They rushed to the feast and, cutting up the animals devoured the flesh half raw, "more resembling cannibals than Europeans at this banquet."* This savage meal ended, the journey was resumed, and on the evening of the same day the steeple of Panamá was beheld at a distance. The bucaniers, forgetting all their sufferings, gave way to the most rapturous exultation, tossing their caps into the air, leaping, shouting, beating drums, and sounding trumpets, at the sight of so glorious a plunder. They encamped for the night near the city, intending to make the assault early in the morning. The governor of Panamá, who led the forces, commanded two hundred cavalry, and four regiments of infantry, and a number of Indian auxiliaries, conducted an immense herd of wild bulls to be driven among the ranks of the bucaniers, and which were expected to throw them into disorder.

"After a contest of two hours, the Spanish cavalry gave way, many were killed, and the rest fled, which the foot soldiers perceiving, they fired their last charge, threw down their muskets, and followed the example of the cavaliers."†

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers." † Ibid.

"After the rout which had taken place in the open field, the bucaniers rested for a little space, and during this pause solemnly plighted their honour by oaths to each other never to yield while a single man remaining alive. This done, carrying their prisoners with them, they advanced upon the great guns planted in the streets and the hasty defences thrown up to defend them, and the town was gained after a desperate conflict of two hours maintained in its open streets.

"In this assault the bucaniers neither gave nor accepted quarter, and the carnage on both sides was great; six hundred Spaniards fell on that day; nor was the number of the bucaniers who perished much less; but to those who survived a double share of plunder was at all times ample consolation for the loss of companions whose services were no longer required in its acquisition."*

"As soon as the possession of the city was gained, guards were placed, and at the same time fires broke out simultaneously in different quarters, which were attributed by the Spaniards to the pirates, and by them to the inhabitants. Both assisted in endeavouring to extinguish the dreadful conflagration which raged with fury, but the houses, being built of cedar, caught the flames like tinder and were consumed in a very short time. The inhabitants had previously removed and concealed the most valuable part of their goods and furniture."†

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers." † Ibid.

"The concealment of the church plate drew upon the ecclesiastics the peculiar vengeance of the heretical bucaniers, who, however, spared no one. The conflagration which they could not arrest, they seemed at last to take a savage delight in spreading. A slave factory belonging to the Genoese was burned to the ground, together with many warehouses stored with meal. Many of the miserable Africans whom the Genoese brought for sale to Peru, perished in the flames which raged or smouldered for nearly four weeks."* "The property which the Spaniards had concealed in deep wells and cisterns was nearly all discovered, and the most active of the bucaniers were sent out to the woods and heights to search for, and drive back the miserable inhabitants who had fled from the city with their effects. In two days they brought in about two hundred of the fugitives as prisoners. Of these unhappy persons, many were females, who found the merciless bucaniers no better than their fears had painted them."

The Spanish colonists of South America had a twofold reason for detesting the bucaniers. They were English heretics, as well as lawless miscreants capable of the foulest crimes. And it is not easy to say whether, in the idea of the indolent, uninstructed, priest-ridden inhabitants of Panamá, Portobelo, and Carthagena, they were not as hateful and alarming in the first character as in the last. A Spanish lady,

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

one of his prisoners, with whom Morgan, the bucanier commander, fell in love, is described as believing, till she saw them, that the freebooters were not men, but some sort of monsters named heretics, "who did neither invoke the blessed Trinity, nor believe in Jesus Christ." The civilities of Captain Morgan inclined her to better thoughts of his faith and Christianity, especially as she heard him frequently swear by sacred names. It is clear that the heretic was as great a curiosity, if not a more trucculent monster than the bucanier. Another lady, of Panamá was curious to see the extraordinary animals called bucaniers, and the first time after she had that happiness, exclaimed aloud, "Jesu bless me! these thieves are like unto us Spaniards."*

"In plundering the land, Morgan had not forgotten the sea. By sea many of the principal inhabitants had escaped, and a boat was sent in pursuit, which brought back three prizes, though a galleon in which was embarked all the plate and jewels belonging to the king of Spain, and the wealth of the principal nunnery of the town escaped, from the bucaniers indulging in a brutal revel in their own bark till it was too late to follow and capture the ship. The pursuit was afterwards continued for four days at the end of which the bucaniers returned to Panamá worth thirty thousand pieces of eight, in goods from Paita.

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

"Meanwhile, on the opposite coast the ships' companies left at Chagres were exercising their vocations, and had captured one large Spanish vessel, which, unaware of the hands into which the castle had fallen, ran in under it for protection. While the bucaniers were thus employed at sea, and at Panamá and Chagres, parties continued to scour the surrounding country, taking in turn the congenial duty of foraging, and bringing in booty and prisoners, on whom they exercised the most atrocious cruelties, sparing neither age, sex, nor condition. Religious persons were the subjects of the most refined barbarity as they were believed to direct and influence the rest of the inhabitants, both in their first resistance and subsequent concealment of property.

"During the perpetration of these outrages, Morgan, as has been noticed, fell in love with a beautiful Spanish woman, his prisoner, and the wife of one of the principal merchants. She rejected his infamous addresses with firmness and spirit, and the bucanier commander, alike a ruffian in his love and hate, used her with severity that disgusted even his own gang, who had not thrown aside every feeling of manhood; and he was fain to charge his fair prisoner with treachery to excuse the baseness of the treatment she received by his orders. This alleged treachery consisted in corresponding with her countrymen, and endeavouring to effect her escape.*

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

"Nothing more was to be wrung forth from Panamá, which, after a sojourn of four weeks, Morgan resolved to leave. Beasts of burden were therefore collected from all quarters to convey the spoils to the opposite coasts. The cannon were spiked, and scouts sent out to learn what measures had been taken by the governor of Panamá to intercept the return to Chagres. The Spaniards were too much depressed to have made any preparation either to annoy or cut off the retreat of their inveterate enemies; and on the 24th February the bucaniers, apprehensive of no opposition, left the ruins of Panamá with 175 mules laden with their spoils, and above 600 prisoners, including women, children, and slaves. The misery of these wretched captives exceeds description. They believed that they were all to be carried to Jamaica, England, or some equally wild, distant, or savage country, to be sold for slaves. And the cruel craft of Morgan heightened these fears, the more readily to extort the ransoms he demanded for the freedom of his unhappy prisoners."* On his arrival at Chagres he shipped the unredeemed prisoners to Portobelo, making them the bearers of his demand of ransom from the governor of that city. The individual shares of spoil, however, fell so far short of the expectation of the bucaniers, that they openly grumbled and accused their chief of the worst crime of which in their eyes he could be guilty, secreting the richest jewels for him-

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

self. Two hundred pieces of eight, about £40 each man, was thought a very small return for the plunder of so wealthy a city.

Morgan, for his own safety, was obliged to steal away with what he had obtained, and the vessels deserted by him separated here. The companies sought their fortunes in different quarters, none of them much the richer for the mischief and devastation they had carried to Panamá.

On his arrival at Jamaica, Morgan learned that the newly appointed governor had orders strictly to enforce the treaty with Spain, formed in the previous year, but to proclaim pardon and indemnity, and offer grants of lands to each of the bucaniers as chose to become peaceful settlers. Future depredations on the trade of or settlements of Spain were forbidden by the Royal proclamation, and under severe penalties.

Fortunately for the freedom and repose of the Spanish colonists, no bucanier corps ever agreed or acted in harmony for any length of time. Their lawless unions fell to pieces even more rapidly than they were formed, and those of the French and English seldom adhered even to the conclusion of a joint expedition.*

"So complete was the destruction of the then great and beautiful city of Panamá, that when the miserable fugitives returned to it, they could no longer find any place of shelter; and so disheartened were they by

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

their great sufferings and losses, that they had no courage to rebuild, assured that it would only serve again to attract the avarice of the remorseless pirate.

"When tidings of these events reached Spain, the king immediately sent orders to have the city removed to a more defensible locality, and rebuilt in such a manner as to defy future assaults, the expenses thereof to be defrayed by the crown. In accordance with the king's edict a site was chosen on a rocky peninsula at the base of a high volcanic mountain, called Ancon, four miles to the westward of the old city. There in 1671, the foundation of the present city was laid."*

The circumstance that a new city had arisen in a few years after the visit of Morgan, which in splendour and wealth eclipsed the desolated town of Panamá, was one of the temptations which induced the bucaniers to try their fortunes on the western shores.

The party of bucaniers which Dampier joined, commanded by Captain Sharp, after again attacking the unfortunate Portobelo, which they plundered for two days and two nights, commenced their march across the Isthmus, on the 5th April, 1680, about 330 strong, accompanied by those Indians of the Darien, whom they had conciliated by gifts of toys and trinkets, and many fair promises, and who were the hereditary enemies of the Spaniards.

The march was easily performed, and in nine days' journey they reached Santa Maria in the Pacific,

* "Tropical Wanderings, by Oran," in Harper's Magazine. September, 1851.

which was taken without opposition, though this did not prevent the exercise of cruelty. The Darien Indians who accompanied them cruelly and deliberately butchered many of the Spanish inhabitants. No plunder obtained, falling far short of the expectations of the bucaniers, made them desirous to push forward. They accordingly embarked on the river Santa Maria, which falls into the Gulf of St. Michael, having previously in their summary way deposed Captain Sharp, and chosen Captain Coxon commander. On the same day that they reached the bay, whither some of the Darien chiefs still accompanied them, they captured a Spanish vessel of 30 tons burden.*

In a few days these bucaniers mustered for a proposed attack of Panamá, and on the 23rd April, 1680, did battle for the whole day, with three Spanish ships in the road, of which two were captured by boarding, while a third got off. Even after this victory the bucaniers did not consider themselves strong enough to attack the new city of Panamá, but they continued to cruise in the bay making valuable prizes, and frequently changing their commanders. Ultimately they divided into two parties, the minority being commanded by William Dampier, who has left so interesting an account of his travels. His party, consisting of 44 Europeans and two Mosquito Indians, determined to recross the Isthmus, an undertaking of no small difficulty for so small a party, from the nature

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

of the country and the hostility of the Spaniard. We are told that they were much indebted to their success from the assistance obtained from an Indian upon whom, at first neither the temptation of dollars, hatchets, nor long knives, would operate, till one of the seamen taking a sky-coloured petticoat from his bag, threw it over to the lady of the house, who was so much delighted with the gift, that she soon wheedled her husband into better humour, and he not only then gave them information, but found them a guide. In this party was Mr. Wafer, the surgeon of the bucaniers, who remained three months among the Darien Indians.*

It will be remembered that Spain for a series of years monopolized the commerce of Spanish America. In those days "its navies were on every sea, and its armies in every quarter of the old world and the new."† All commercial traffic between the colonies and the parent State, except from Seville or Cadiz in Spain, to Vera Cruz and Carthagena in America, was prohibited.‡ But Philip V., by the treaty of Utrecht, allowed Great Britain the right of sending one ship a year to Portobelo, and this led to the establishment of British commerce at Carthagena, Panamá and other places in New Granada. It was by this Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 that England acquired from Spain with Gibraltar and Minorca, the right under the asiento contract of

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

† Prescott's "Essay on Cervantes."

‡ Mills on "Colonial Constitutions."

supplying Spanish America with slaves and of attending the fair at Portobelo.*

It appears that Spain afterwards obtained a release from the privilege granted to England, and was once more allowed to monopolize the trade of the colonies. Contraband traffic was, however, carried on to a large extent, and ultimately the advantages of the commerce became so great, and the trade itself so increased, that about the year 1748, the galleons were no longer employed, and the trade with Chili and Peru and even that with Panamá, was carried on round Cape Horn.

"For two or three centuries English merchants were eager to trade with the inaccessible colonies of Spain, and the partial disappointment which ensued on the removal of the prohibition is wholly attributable to the barbarism and anarchy of half civilized independent republics."†

The constitution of the Spanish colonies was fashioned upon that of the mother country. The supreme authority was vested in a council resident at Madrid, and dependent solely on the king. This was termed "Consejo real y supremo de Indias," and had under it a board for the regulation of commerce, entitled "Audiencia real de la Contratacion," which was held in Seville, and thus a more settled system of colonial policy was established than any other nation had ever founded.

In the New World itself, viceroys (virreyes) were

* Mills on "Colonial Constitutions."

† Article on Mexico in "Saturday Review," September 5, 1863.

appointed to represent the monarch; but the distribution of justice was confined to the audiencias which acted as supreme local tribunals, and, at the same time, as state-councils to the viceroys. The towns elected their own cabildos or municipal officers.

But however arbitrary the political and commercial relations which bound the colonies to the mother country, those of religion were more powerful: all the external apparatus of Christianity, her cloisters, nay, very shortly her inquisition, were transferred across the Atlantic,* and the Spanish ecclesiastical discipline was established in all the colonies by a concordat or treaty with the Pope, which empowered the king of Spain with full privileges in the external polity of the church. The results of all this system have been such as might have been anticipated from the vain attempt to retain communities of intelligent men in a state of perpetual minority.

The Spanish dominion on the American continent which began with the sixteenth century, and extended over a period of three hundred years, once comprised Mexico, Guatemala, and the territory of Terra Firma, now subdivided into the independent states of New Granada, Venezuela and Ecuador, also Peru, Chili, and La Plata now forming the two states of Paraguay and Banda Oriental. This vast area is now absolutely independent of the parent state. The only remaining colonies of Spain are Cuba, Porto Rico, and

* Mills on "Colonial Constitutions."

the Phillipines, and a few unimportant settlements on the coast of Africa.*

Up to this date, however, Spain has not officially recognised the independence of New Granada; but in August 1863, the Spanish squadron, under the command of Admiral Pinzon, then in the waters of the Pacific, visited Panamá for the first time since the separation of the colony. This was the same squadron which afterwards took possession of the Chincha Islands of Peru, when the plea that Spain had not recognised the independence of Peru was urged by the Spanish commissioner.

"It was the policy of the Spanish sovereign or government as to their American colonies, to render them in every way that could be done contributary to the power and prosperity of Spain. In the grants of the country made to the first adventurers, the Spanish monarchs reserved one-fifth of the gold and silver that might be obtained, and for a considerable period the precious metals were the only objects that attracted attention either in the colonies or old Spain. The right of the sovereign to a share of the products of the mines was ever after maintained, and it was the intention of Spain to confine the industry of the colonies to mining as much as possible, for two reasons—one, the revenue derived from the source, and the other to prevent such branches of agriculture as might interfere with the products of Spain.†"

* Mills on "Colonial Constitutions."

† "A View of Spanish America and Mexico."

"All the trade with the colonies was carried on in Spanish bottoms and under such regulations, as subjected the colonists to great inconvenience, even the commerce of one colony with another, was either prohibited or trammelled with intolerable restrictions."

"Thus was Spanish America shut up from the world, crippled in its growth, kept in leading strings, and in a perpetual state of minority."*

"From the want of more frequent intercourse between Spain and her colonies, it often happened that events which occurred in the latter, were known for some time by foreign nations before intelligence of them had reached Spain. To remedy this evil, a system of packets was established, in 1764, to be despatched on the first day of every month to Havannah, from whence letters were sent to Vera Cruz, Portobelo, and so transmitted throughout the Spanish settlements."†

"Objects of commerce connected themselves with this arrangement; the packets were vessels of considerable burden, and carried out goods and brought back a return cargo in the productions of the colonies."‡

But, as the author of the "Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen" remarks, "it would be hard to prove that Spain derived aught but a golden weakness from her splendid discoveries and possessions in the New World.§" In the latter half of the eighteenth century, in the reign of Charles III.,

* "A View of Spanish America and Mexico." † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
§ "The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen."

regulations for the government of the commerce of the Spanish colonies were, however, formed, which relieved the colonies from some of the restrictions under which they laboured previously, and served to animate the commerce between the different ports of the peninsula. These regulations, which were called by the name of "free commerce," gave to the importation and exportation of Spanish America an activity hitherto unknown.

The term "comercio libre," or free commerce, which was incorrect as regards the true signification of the words, was not so, if one remembers the multitude of restrictions with which the commerce of the Spanish colonies was enchained; limited as it was before those regulations, to the galleons and squadron which were seen only once a year on the coast of New Granada.*

But to return to Panamá. The city of Panamá, previously to its destruction by Morgan in the year 1671, consisted of about 12,000 houses, many of them large and magnificent: it contained, also, eight monasteries and two churches, all richly furnished.†

It was situated in 8° 57′ north latitude, and 79° 31′ west longitude, on the shores of a bay called the Bay of Panamá, from an Indian word signifying a place abounding with fish.

"Born from the blood and sinews of the simple aborigines of that unfortunate country, this 'very

* Restrepo's "Historia de Colombia."

† "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

noble and very loyal city,' was fed and nourished by a system of oppression and plunder. As the entrepôt for the riches of the Northern and Southern Pacific Coasts, Panamá, during the next hundred years, grew to be a wealthy and beautiful city, boasting of temples adorned with gold and silver and pictures of great value. Surrounding the city were rich plantations and cultivated lands; a paved road connected it with the city and harbour of Portobelo."*

The new city of Panamá was thus described by Dampier: "This is a flourishing city by reason it is a thoroughfare for all imported or exported goods and treasure to and from all parts of Peru and Chili, whereof their store-houses are never empty. The road is seldom or never without ships, besides, once in three years, when the Spanish armada comes to Portobelo, then the Plate fleet also, from Lima, comes hither with the king's treasure, and abundance of merchant-ships full of goods and plate; at that time the city is full of merchants and gentlemen, the seamen are busy in landing the treasure, and the carriers or caravan masters employed in carrying it overland on mules (in vast droves every day) to Portobelo and bringing back European goods from thence; though the city be then so full, yet, during the heat of business there is no hiring of an ordinary slave under a piece of eight a day; houses, also chambers, beds and victuals are then extraordinary dear."†

* "Tropical Journeyings, by Oran," in Harper's Magazine. September 1859.

† Dampier, vol. i. p. 179.

It will be seen from the preceding accounts that the flourishing trade which Panamá formerly enjoyed, and which contributed to that importance it attained from the first discovery of the American continent, was one entirely arising from the transit of treasure and merchandise from one ocean to the other. This gave a profitable employment to all classes of the inhabitants; but it was this, so profitable an employment, which may in much account for the Panameños having, from the first neglected other pursuits, and particularly agriculture. So much, however, has this been the case from the earliest establishment of the colonies, that, formerly, as now, there were little or no productions of the Isthmus for exportation, so that when the route round Cape Horn became the highway for commerce, and the transit trade ceased, the people of the Isthmus found themselves plunged into idleness and consequent poverty. The discovery of the Californian gold-fields was, as will presently be shown, a new era for Panamá; fortunes were then rapidly made, and want was again temporarily unknown. But the people of the Isthmus committed the great mistake of fancying that these "good times" were to last for ever, and the money abundantly and readily earned was, like the winnings of the gambler, as readily spent. Panamá, indeed, both old and new, appears to have naturally fallen under the ban of poverty and especially so when left to its own resources, for we read, as a simple instance, that the former colony and first settlement at Panamá was unable, even if willing,

to raise the necessary funds to enable Pizarro to prosecute his voyages of discovery, even after he had met the Peruvians at several places on the coast, and that he was obliged to make a voyage to Spain and claim the aid of his government before he could attempt to conquer his new "El Dorado." While in its most rich and prosperous days Panamá offered much less treasure to Morgan and his followers than they anticipated.

It is difficult also, at this moment, to foresee from what source the Panamá of the present day is to obtain for herself permanent wealth. There are few places in the world, I imagine, through which comparatively so many riches pass, and so few remain: in her earliest days the whole wealth of Peru passed through her hands, while she arose again, in later years, to receive the gold and silver of the Californian mines in addition. Panamá indeed is like the strongest part of the stream by which everything passes, and in which nothing remains.

In the foregoing pages I have endeavoured to bring back to the recollection of the reader something of the history of the Panamá of the past: I have done so as briefly as possible, and whenever practicable, in the very language of those who have studied and written upon the subject.

It will now be time to direct our thoughts to the Panamá of the present day: to this new highway to the Pacific which is attracting the attention of the old world, and by whose gates are passing now, not only

the riches in gold and silver of a new colony, and the barren necessaries of life for a few colonists, but streams of human life, immense cargoes of treasure. Merchandise of every description, and articles of refined luxury from Europe; accompanied by European letters and English newspapers in untold numbers.

CHAPTER V.

New Granada.—State of Panamá.—Recognition of the Independence.—Early British Enterprise.

THE Isthmus of Panamá lies between the fourth and sixth parallels of north latitude, and the seventy-seventh and eighty-third of west longitude. It belongs, politically, to the republic of New Granada; now called the United States of Colombia.

The States, forming this Republic, are nine, namely, Antioquia, Bolivar, Boyacá, Cauca, Cundinamarca, Magdalena, Panamá, Santander, and Tolima.

The population and space of each is estimated as follows:—

	Square Miriametros.	Population.
Antioquia . . .	590,25	327,322
Bolivar	700,00	175,006
Boyacá	863,75	442,996
Cauca	6,668,00	437,102
Cundinamarca . .	2,064,00	351,096
Magdalena . . .	698,00	100,284
Panamá . . .	826,75	173,729*
Santander . . .	422,00	496,000
Tolima	477,50	250,938
Bogotá	3,00	40,000
	13,313,25	2,794,473

The city of Bogotá is the capital and residence of

* Made to be 180,000 in 1864.

the supreme Federal Powers; the States profess, by the constitution, to be sovereign and independent of the government of the Union, except in certain matters, such as those relating to territory, foreign relations, &c. On this subject it will be necessary to enter more fully hereafter. Previously to the year 1863 the state of Panamá had been one of the eight states which formed the republic of New Granada, aferwards called "The New Granadian Confederation." In 1863, after a revolution under General Mosquera, which lasted two years, and was in the end successful, the name of this republic was changed to that of the United States of Colombia, but without augmentation or diminution of territory. The additional state (Tolima) was formed by cutting off two provinces, Neiva and Mariquita, from the state of Cundinamarca.

For two generations after the Spanish colonization of America, New Granada was composed of two presidentships or principal parts, known as the presidentship of Quito and of the new kingdom of Granada; they were then governed by independent magistrates, residing, one at the city of Quito, and the other at Santa Fé de Bogotá. But both presidentships were dependent on the viceroy of Peru, in many and important matters relative to civil, as well as military government; consequently that chief, who had Lima for his residence, exercised at that time an authority over almost all South America. In the year 1721 these presidentships were united under one viceroy, independent of that of Peru, but this government

lasted only two years, when presidents were again appointed as formerly, until 1740. In that year owing to the probability of a war with Great Britain, Spain saw the necessity of selecting an able chief for the defence of the new kingdom of Granada, and the second viceroy was then appointed.

The name of New Granada was, however, hardly used generally until the beginning of the present century.*

From the year 1740, then, until the declaration of independence of the Spanish American states, under the liberator of Spanish America, General Bolivar, in the year 1819, New Granada formed, with the present republic of Ecuador, a Spanish vice-royalty. The republic of Colombia was formed at a congress of the independent states at Angostura on the 17th December, 1819; it was composed of the former vice-royalty of New Granada, and of the former captain-generalship of Caracas, or Venezuela, and was so named, as the title indicates, in honour of Christopher Columbus. The present republic of Ecuador, which was a portion of the vice-royalty, was also comprised in this union of the provinces, which had succeeded in throwing off their allegiance to Spain. From the year 1831 the republic of Colombia ceased to exist, the departments which had formed it having separated into three separate and independent republics, namely, New Granada, Venezuela, and Ecuador. But they remained united, by friendly treaties, to protect in

* Restrepo's "Historia de Colombia."

case of need their common independence. In the year 1855 the New Granadian Confederation was formed.

General Bolivar well earned the honour of being called the Liberator of Spanish America. He not only gained the freedom of Venezuela and New Granada, but in 1824 was able to establish the independence of Peru, and he founded to the south of this country the present republic of Bolivia. He was, however, suspected of aspiring to a dictatorship; and to destroy these unjust suspicions he several times resigned all power.

The republic of New Granada, or as we must now call it, of the United States of Colombia, is bounded on the north by the Caribbean Sea and Venezuela; on the east by Guiana and Brazil; on the south by Ecuador, and on the west by the great Pacific Ocean. The limits of the territory of the state of Panamá are, with the state of Cauca, the river Atrato from its mouth upwards to its confluence with the river Napipi, thence following upwards the course of the Napipi to its source, and thence by a straight line to the Bay of Cupica in the Pacific; with the republic of Costa Rica, are the natural boundaries between the United States of Colombia and Costa Rica.*

According to the new constitution, the sovereign state of Panamá is composed of the Colombians in the territory, and of the territory which formed the province of the Isthmus of Panamá, namely, Panamá,

* "Political Constitution of the Sovereign State of Panamá." 1864.

Azuero, Veraguas and Chiriqui; when the constitutional Act of 1855 created the state.

The state of Panamá is, politically, one of the most, if not *the* most important state in the republic. The principal ports are now those of Colon in the Atlantic and Panamá in the Pacific, which are connected by the railway that has been in existence since the year 1855. Under the Spanish monarchy the *comandancia general* of Panamá contained the three provinces of Panamá, Veraguas and Darien; but by the division of territory, established by the constitution of the former Colombia, Darien formed an integral part of the province of Panamá.

The department of the Isthmus was, therefore, then divided into two provinces, Panamá and Veraguas, which, agreeably to the said constitution, were again subdivided into cantons and parishes. When the first embers of the revolution, which ultimately led to the separation of these Spanish colonies from the mother country, were lighted at Bogotá and Quito in the latter half of the year 1810, the department of the Isthmus of Panamá was one of the few provinces which remained loyal to Spain; refusing to proclaim the revolution, and sustaining the Spanish authorities, and when the news arrived of the installation of the cortes of Spain at Leon on the 24th September, 1810, the province of the Isthmus of Panamá recognized their authority without any reserve.*

From the greater facility with which the mother

* Restrepo's "Historia de Colombia."

country could communicate with Panamá, it continued to be, during nearly eleven years of the revolution, an important stronghold of Spain. Indeed, provisions and arms were frequently forwarded from the Isthmus, to sustain the Spanish authorities in the provinces which were able to hold their own against the patriots (as they were called) who were then struggling for the independence.

The last viceroy of the new kingdom of Granada, Sámano, died at Panamá, in the year 1820. The new Spanish governor and captain-general Cruz Murgeon, whose authority was still recognised there, was unable to proceed to Bogotá, the revolution there having taken so strong a hold on the country, and he resolved to go to Quito, where he might succeed in opposing a considerable resistance to the rapid progress which the cause of the independence was making under Bolivar. On his departure from the Isthmus on the 21st October 1821, with such forces and means as he could command and raise from the monasteries, churches, and other resources, the governor of the province of Veraguas remained in charge of the Isthmus. From this time the independence began to be generally talked of, and, after some slight opposition on the part of the remaining Spaniards, it was peaceably proclaimed on the 28th November of that year, at a meeting of all the civil, military, and ecclesiastical bodies. By this act the provinces of the Isthmus were united to the new republic of Colombia. The political transformation took

place peaceably, and republican troops were shortly afterwards sent to protect the Isthmus from any attempts at a re-conquest on the part of the Spaniards.*

At the time of the declaration of the independence of the Isthmus, the inhabitants of Panamá were suffering great distress, owing to the interruption of the commerce upon which they depended, and from having, for a long time, to support large bodies of Spanish troops. All this was the natural consequence of the course which the war of independence had taken. The absolute independence of the whole of South America was the vast plan which the President of Colombia contemplated.†

England recognised the independence of New Granada in December, 1824. "The fight has been hard, but it is won," wrote Mr. Canning. "The deed is done; the nail is driven; Spanish America is free, and if we do not mismanage our matters sadly, she is English."

"This thing achieved, indeed it matters very little whether I go out of town or out of office; for it was the one thing needful in the present state of the world, and I most assuredly would have gone out of office, if I had been thwarted in it." And again he exclaims, "Behold the new world established, and if we do not throw it away, ours."‡

We find English enterprise and protection stimulating in every possible way the young State in her

* Restrepo's "Historia de Colombia." † Ibid.
‡ "Canning and his Times."

independence, which was actually obtained in the year 1821; and a year after the recognition of this independence by Great Britain, Mr. Canning was able to induce the king to grant an audience to the ministers of the new States. Shortly afterwards, a minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary was sent from England to Bogotá, the capital of New Granada, and British consuls were then sent to Panamá and Carthagena.

On the subject of the king's reception of the Minister of Colombia, Mr. Canning, thus wrote to Lord Granville:—

"You will not think my journey to town fruitless, when I tell you, that I received, the day before yesterday, from the king, a note in which is the following sentence: 'The king will receive the ministers of the *New States* early in November.' Recollecting that, this time twelvemonth, it was a question whether there should be any *New States* at all, and that in the discussions of that day one of the main arguments employed to deter me from my purpose was that the king would never be brought to receive their ministers. I think the two lines above quoted are as satisfactory a proof of the sum as could be desired."

It may well be said that, to the New World, Mr. Canning's loss was irreparable. It was he who had established the New States, which it seems were, and "would continue to be, ours, if we did not throw them away." *

* "Canning and his Times."

Mr. Canning, however, seemed inclined from the first to keep his protégés in order, for in another of his letters he says, "I delighted in raising these people into States, but I shall not let them fancy themselves too fine fellows, as they would be apt to do, if not snubbed when they deserve it."*

From that time to this there has been no lack of the "snubbing;" indeed, from the repeated causes which the "young republics" have given for this, one can but fancy that they like to receive it.

We have, however, certainly reaped, and are reaping great and important advantages from Mr. Canning's policy. It is only since the establishment of the independence of the South American colonies, that foreigners have been allowed to establish themselves in those countries, and that the privileges of citizenship have been granted to them. The attempts of England and other European powers to gain a footing there were all unsuccessful so long as they were colonies under allegiance to Spain; and although Queen Elizabeth denied that "by the Bishop of Rome's donation, or any other right, the Spaniards were entitled to debar the subjects of other princes from those new countries," yet it is certain that we were indebted only to their independence for the position which foreigners have since held, and now hold, in all South America, and for the advantages of the commerce at the rich and profitable markets of those countries.

We have seen in the preceding pages the interest

* "Canning and his Times."

which Mr. Canning took in the New States on the separation from Spain, and we find in the earliest days of the New State of Colombia, evident marks of British enterprise. In the year 1827, a monthly communication was established under the direction and auspices of the English naval Commander-in-Chief in the West Indies, between Chagres, Panamá and Jamaica, by government schooners. The correspondence and treasure from South America was at that time forwarded to Europe by this means, and by the monthly sailing packets between England and Jamaica. The great difficulty in those days, as afterwards, was the want of a road between Panamá and Chagres. From this want long detention invariably took place in the transmission of the correspondence to and from Chagres and Panamá. In this matter the poverty of the New State was apparent, and pecuniary assistance from the British government was necessary to get the mails through the territory. The expense of transmitting the correspondence across, was at that time about 40 dollars or 8*l*., a month; but the departmental government was so wretchedly poor that it could not, from actual want of means, carry out even this important measure with regularity.

In this year (1827) the congress of the nation, under the presidency of General Bolivar, passed a law for the opening of the Isthmus by a carriage road from Panamá to Portobelo. It does not appear, however, that this road was ever attempted, most probably from want of funds, for the opening of the communi-

cation between the two seas was a favourite scheme of the "Liberator."

The first English man-of-war which arrived at Panamá was H.M.S. 'Tartar' on the 11th January, 1825. The Royal Mail Company's steamer Severn arrived at Chagres on the 22nd June, 1845, with the European mails which had been hitherto sent by sailing vessels from Jamaica, and the Pacific Steam Navigation Company's mail steamer "Chile," first arrived at Panamá on the 21st April, 1846. The first steamer which arrived at Panamá appears to have been H.M. war steamer "Salamander," on the 21st October, 1843. The French government steamer "Le Gomer," also arrived at Chagres in the same month with commissioners who were then forming a plan for a line of French steamers in the Atlantic.

Those who enjoy the advantage of receiving their letters at Panamá under the present arrangements, in nineteen or twenty days after they are posted in England, will be able to appreciate this on comparison with former times, and what is gain to Panamá is gain to all South and Central America, having ports in the Pacific; as it is also gain to British Columbia and California.

In the time of the sailing packets, communication was often irregular, and never more frequent than once a month, while letters were sometimes two months even between the neighbouring port of Carthagena and Panamá. In no way has British enterprise more signally manifested itself than in the establishment of

the mail packets in foreign countries. To the West Indies and to the Pacific ports this has been of such advantage that it would be impossible to estimate the benefits derived therefrom by all classes of the community. It is well that it has also proved advantageous to those who were willing to risk capital in enterprise in comparatively unknown countries.

CHAPTER VI.

Opening of the Railway.—British Mail Packets.—American Steam Ships.—Isthmus Surveys.—The Panamá Railway.

In a preceding chapter I have remarked that ordinary books of reference do not yet give us very much, or very correct, information regarding Panamá. Even McCulloch, in his useful "Geographical Dictionary," in the edition for 1854, I believe the last edition, says, relative to the railway, "Previously to 1740, when the trade with the Pacific first began to be carried on round Cape Horn, Panamá was the principal entrepôt of trade between Europe and America. From that period, however, it fell off and its decay has been peculiarly rapid ever since the independence of South America, and the opening of other ports in the Pacific, but within the last two or three years it has rapidly increased, *and should a canal or railway be carried across the Isthmus*, of which there can be little doubt, it will in all probability attain to greater distinction than ever." *

This problematical railway about which McCulloch in 1854, and my friend the London Banker in 1862, were so much in doubt, was actually commenced in

* McCulloch's "Geographical Dictionary." Edition 1854.

earnest in the year 1850, and opened from the Atlantic to the Pacific in working operation on the 27th January, 1855.

Her Majestys consul, Mr. Henderson, says of it in his Report for 1861, "The immense importance of the Panamá railroad to the trade between Europe and the United States, and the ports in the Pacific, is apparent from the great increase in the commercial activity of those ports since its establishment; and its usefulness is likely to become vastly increased in proportion as the facilities it already affords are duly appreciated and taken advantage of; and those additional ones, which it will doubtless be compelled and willing to extend to commerce, are carried into effect."*

Bouillet, in his "Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Geographie," under the article "Chagres," tells us that the railway was in operation from this point (Chagres) in 1853. But this is one of the many errors relative to the Isthmus of Panamá. From the first surveys of the railroad company, in 1848, it was decided to make the Atlantic terminus of the railway at Navy Bay, in which is located the present town of Colon.

As may be supposed, great and important changes have taken place since the opening of this railway, and in consequence of it; but it is not, I take it, wholly due, as the Americans like to maintain, to this railway that Panamá has assumed its present position of importance in the eyes of the political and commer-

* Commercial Reports from Her Majesty's Consuls, presented to Parliament. 1863.

cial world; indeed, as Captain Liot said in 1844, "although the honour of being the first to construct a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean may possibly (and does) attach to the citizens of the United States, the Royal Mail Company are undoubtedly entitled to some share of public consideration for restoring a valuable communication which had been almost abandoned since the period when the Isthmus of Panamá was occupied by the Spaniards." *

In 1844 the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company sent to Panamá Captain Liot, their colonial superintendent, who was accompanied by the crown surveyor of Jamaica, for the purpose of obtaining such information as might be useful in enabling the directors of that company to form an opinion as to the practicability of influencing the transit of passengers, specie, &c., between Europe, North America, and the Pacific, making the same pass through the Isthmus of Panamá instead of by the route round Cape Horn.† In 1840, the British Admiralty had made the contract with this company for the conveyance of Her Majesty mails to and from the port of Chagres.

Years before the opening of the railway, the Isthmus had again become the highway to Europe and the United States for the riches of Mexico and South America. As early, too, as 1840, ten years before the first foot of ground for the railway was cleared, and fifteen years before the line was opened, the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, an English

* "Communication between the Atlantic and Pacific." † Ibid.

company, under charter from the British Government, commenced in the Pacific a line of mail and passenger steamers corresponding with those of the Royal Mail Company in the Atlantic, a line which has ever since been in successful operation on the West Coast, and which is now conveying both European and United States mails as well as those of the Southern republics from Panamá to the southernmost ports of Chili.

The peculiar geographical position of the Isthmus of Panamá naturally makes it a very important position to South American and Californian commerce. This the Americans undoubtedly perceived when they undertook and carried out with such indefatigable energy that which England and France after repeated and expensive surveys certainly failed to accomplish, namely, the railway from sea to sea. All honour to them, therefore, for their spirit of enterprise. We in England had talked, and still talk, of Isthmus canals and railways, as we have talked for some years of a line of steamers *viâ* Panamá to Australia, but with our talk and our surveys we get no further. To the American company was conceded the privilege which had been originally granted to the French, but the term of the contract was reduced from 99 to 49 years, and a right has been reserved by the Government of New Granada to purchase the railroad, or rather redeem the privilege at the expiration of twenty years on payment of five millions of dollars (about one million sterling). The American projectors, first in 1848, memorialized the Congress of the United States

for assistance to enable them to carry out this grand enterprise; but they failed to obtain this assistance, and boldly proceeded on the great work without it.

Some years, however, before the opening of the railway, the Californian gold fields had attracted thousands of emigrants through the swamps and forests which divided the Atlantic from the Pacific. This emigration gave rise to the establishment of regular steam communication between Panamá and San Francisco, the port of the new state. The Americans understood those things, and saw the growing importance of California, and as early as 1848 there were large steamers plying between Panamá and California, to provide for a daily increasing traffic, while corresponding communication was established by American steamers between Chagres, the then Atlantic port of the Isthmus, and New York. Emigrants from all parts of the world gladly availed themselves of these means, and paid almost ungrudgingly the enormous rates of passage money demanded of them. We in England, before the time of the limited companies, used to take months and years to make up our minds whether such or such an enterprise would pay. The Americans, before the time of their troubles, used generally to carry out the enterprise and inquire afterwards, whether it *had* paid. Both practices have their advantages, but the public and travelling community are generally gainers by the promptitude of the Yankees.

There can be no question now, however, regarding the enterprise I have just referred to. The Pacific Mail Company have the largest and probably the best paying steamers in the world, and they are likely to have the monopoly of this trade for years to come. They perhaps deserve it too, for finer ships, or better accommodation for passengers, will not often be met with. I have seen seven hundred or eight hundred, and even a thousand passengers on one of these ships comfortably "stowed away" and provided for a twelve days' voyage, with as little to-do as if they were merely to cross the Channel, while for newly-married ladies there are four-post bedsteads in cabins as large as ordinary bedrooms on shore.

People in England have hardly an idea of the magnitude of the traffic now between Panamá and San Francisco, or rather between New York and San Francisco, *viâ* Panamá. On a recent and not extraordinary occasion, the Pacific Company's steamer "Golden City" left Panamá with twenty-two hundred tons of cargo from New York, and seven hundred tons of coals, besides carrying nearly seven hundred passengers, and having room for as *many* more!*

Numerous, indeed, had been the prospects for a means of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific, before the establishment of the Panamá railway. To Saavedra, the kinsman and commander under the famous Hernando Cortes, is ascribed the

* 25th July, 1864.

bold prospect of cutting a canal from sea to sea.* And it was a favourite scheme of the President of Colombia, the liberator Bolivar. We have too, in more recent times, the surveys of Mr. Wheelwright, Mr. Hellert; Captain Lloyd, in 1842; Mons. Garella, under the French king, Louis Philippe, in 1843; Sir Charles Fox's survey by Mr. Gisborne, in 1852; Commander Prevost, R.N., for the British Government, in 1853; Lieut. Strain, for the United States, in 1854; besides a host of others from Mons. Belli to Commander Pim, and indeed from the time of Humboldt, "now coasting the stormy shore of the Gulf and penetrating its unhealthy streams, jotting down every landmark that might serve to guide the future navigator, or surveying the crested Isthmus in search of a practical communication between the great seas on its borders."†

In May, 1864, a party of American engineers returned to Panamá after completing a survey of the Isthmus from the river Bayano in the Bay of Panamá, to San Blas on the Atlantic, having spent nearly three months in making their observations, they made the distance across from these points twenty-eight miles, and found the lowest summit level 800 ft.‡ This was the shortest road that has been discovered.

"The Saturday Review" in an article on Captain Pim's book, "The Gate of the Pacific," says, with much

* "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, and History of the Bucaniers."

† Prescott's "Essays," "Calderon's Life in Mexico."

‡ Panamá "Star and Herald," May, 1864.

force, that "The attention of great thinkers and public men has been repeatedly directed to the subject of Central American transit ever since Columbus spent the latter years of his life in vainly beating about to find a natural passage from ocean to ocean; but from various causes, it has hitherto failed to take hold of the public mind in England with a vigour in any adequate degree corresponding to the magnitude of the interests concerned."*

The same writer goes on to say: "Ten canal routes at least have been proposed, the principal lines being fairly traceable on an ordinary map. Beginning on the extreme west, the first is that starting from Tehuantepec on the Pacific, and ending at the point where the River Coatzacoalcos enters the Gulf of Mexico. So strongly did Cortez believe in the merits of this route, that he selected the lands in the neighbourhood as his portion of the conquered country. A careful survey was made in 1842 by Don José de Garay, aided by experienced Spanish engineers. The total length of this route is one hundred and thirty-eight miles, and the lowest cost, estimated with much diffidence, by Don José, would be 3,400,000*l.* The distracted state of Mexico offers, however, so fatal an obstacle to this scheme that other objections are dwarfed by the comparison. The next route is the favourite of the Emperor Napoleon, concerning whom it may not be generally known that he was at one time not far from swaying the destinies of Nicaragua.

* "Saturday Review," March 7, 1863.

When a prisoner at Ham, in 1840, he was formally requested by the Nicaraguan Government to take upon himself exclusively the construction of a canal through their country. And though, being kept a close prisoner, he could not accede to that request, the idea remained firmly rooted in his mind, and seven years later he read an elaborate and able pamphlet on the subject before the Institution of Civil Engineers in London. This line, two hundred miles in entire length, runs from San Juan del Sur, on the Pacific, to the mouth of the San Juan River, on the Atlantic. Its great attraction is the natural advantage afforded by the Lake of Nicaragua, a magnificent inland sea, ninety-five miles long, in its broadest part about thirty-five miles, and averaging fifteen fathoms of water in depth. This is the canal-line which was so carefully surveyed in 1837-8 by Mr. Bailey, of the Royal Marines, since which time France has continued to regard it with a most favourable eye, and is said by no means to have abandoned the hope of working it even yet. The Lake is navigable for ships of the largest class quite down to the point of departure of the River San Juan, so that this line would appear to possess all the recommendations that nature can bestow. The shorter route from Chiriqui Lagoon, a splendid Atlantic harbour, to the mouth of the David River, is condemned by the want of a likely port on the Pacific side. The government of Louis Philippe warmly patronized a route from the little bay of Vaca del Monte, near Panamá, to Limon Bay on the

Atlantic. The line from San Blas to Chepo, recommended by Mr. Oliphant, has the merit of cutting the narrowest part of the Isthmus, where it is but thirty miles wide. The sanction of Humboldt's name has been invoked in support of several routes. What seems to be certain is, that he regarded Darien as the true point of the Isthmus for a canal, and inclined to cut across from Caledonia Bay to the Gulf Miguel, or else — and this was his favourite scheme — to go further east, and make a canal-junction between the rivers Atrato and San Juan (not to be confounded with the Nicaraguan river of the same name).

Now, it certainly is a very significant fact, that canals across the Isthmus should have been proposed at so many different points by so many able and prominent men, and yet that no canal has ever yet been achieved. . . . . On the other hand, though railways are not yet half a century old, while the transit question itself dates back very nearly from the discovery of the Continent, a remarkably successful and remunerative railroad has run for eight years * past across the Province of Panamá. It must, however, be remembered that though steam locomotives had begun running, yet the question of railway construction was by no means so thoroughly understood as it now is, when several of the leading opinions on canal-transit were formed. The imagination, if not the judgment, of Humboldt clung to the

* Now ten years.

notion of a grand, lock-free, ship canal to the last. But when account is made of the length of time necessary for the construction of such a work, the enormous outlay at certain points (30,000,000*l.* were estimated for the Atrato route), and, above all, the rapid changes which are not uncommon in the harbours of either shore through the process of "silting up," the scale appears decidedly to fall in favour of the comparative cheapness, certainty, and speed of a railroad."*

The Tahuantepec route, according to its supporters, was to afford the most expeditious line of transit for travellers, and was to be the speediest mail route, but it was not suitable for the transit of merchandise, on account of the shallow and open nature of the harbour on one side and the other, so that even this important highway has given way to that of the Isthmus of Panamá.

I shall endeavour to show, by and by, what England has lost by losing the Panamá railway, and what the Americans have gained by gaining it; but I do not think this loss is to be regained by any such scheme as that of Commander Pim. That the Isthmus of Panamá has again arisen to a position important to other countries is, however, unquestionable. But it is possible that the American "element" and influence in that quarter has reached its zenith, for although it can hardly be expected that the disorganized and impoverished state in which foreign enterprise has, as it were, *nolens volens*, planted itself, will, for years to come, learn to set aside the vicious habits taught by a long

* "Saturday Review," March 7, 1863.

series of revolutions, for those of industry and peace, to the acquiring of political importance; it is, nevertheless, I think, not improbable that other countries may aspire to secure a permanent key to this important highway. I mean only a key, and without for a moment detracting from the greatness of the enterprise which has thus far made the United States warden, by repute, of the Isthmus of Panamá, I am inclined to think that it is, perhaps, in the true interests, political and commercial, of Europe, and of the European colonies, that the time be not too far distant when the neutrality of the Isthmus be secured by the European powers, or the capitalists of Europe see it to their advantage to find for New Granada the sum by which she may redeem her pecuniary bondage to America; so that in time of war, as in time of peace, the Isthmus of Panamá may be in fact, what it is by nature destined to be, the highway at all hours for all nations. This question we will, however, discuss in a future chapter.

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CHAPTER VII.

The Atlantic Voyage.

In these days of steam communication when it has been proved over and over again that "the water is the great highway of nations, the true element for the discoverer," it is not difficult for the traveller about to start on the longest voyage, to "book through" from London to his destination: as is the demand in this matter, as in others, so is the supply. Be the destination in the least known or least travelled country, the means of getting to it are, in these times, comparatively easy. While to a place or country at all known it is, in sailors' language, "plain sailing."

Englishmen, I think, as a rule, care more than the generality of people about the places they must of necessity pass through, and few like to go over new ground without forming some acquaintance with, or acquiring some knowledge, be it ever so slight, of the towns or places they are obliged to visit on their travels. "By all means let us see the cannibals at Panamá," says Miss Blank, as attired in a winter costume, gradually reduced to one red petticoat over

an unmanagable crinoline, she hangs on the arm of the gentleman from Cork. "By all means, Miss Blank," I shall endeavour to prepare for you and others of my dear countrywomen, as well as for the gentlemen from Cork, a guide to all the lions of Panamá. But to begin at the beginning, perhaps we had better start from Southampton. The Royal Mail steamer will soon carry us across the Atlantic, and we shall then see the first of the Isthmus from where, or nearly so, the great Colombus saw it. I say the Royal Mail steamer, for until the French have their long-promised line of packets to the West Indies and Colon, or Cunard has run out branch lines from the States, which I suppose, now that the Royal Mail Company have an extension of the postal contract, he will not do just yet, the European traveller, to the Isthmus, will generally take the Royal Mail Company's steamer, leaving Southampton on the 2nd or 17th of the month, and, as Mr. Trollope tells us, he may take a more uncomfortable means of conveyance.*

It requires a great muster of courage for me to say good-bye properly. It required a great effort, dear reader, for me to say my first good-bye, to say farewell to the last dear friend, to say it to the last pretty girl I was to see in England for long, long years to come. From my experience of such partings and leave-takings, they are a painful necessity alike to those who go and those who stay. I have seen the lips of strong-bearded, brave men, quiver on such occasions;

* "West Indies and Spanish Main."

of men too who appeared impermeable to all sentiment; and I have seen frail, tender-hearted women almost crushed in paroxysms of grief in such moments. My humble opinion on the subject of leave-takings is, that they should be gone through and got over, once for all, *on shore;* a passenger-ship is of all others the most unsuitable place for them. We were, I remember, a most melancholy party as we steamed up the Southampton River in the little tender to the noble ship in which my first berth was taken. What, too, can be more miserably melancholy than that wretched half-hour on board, before the steamer starts on her voyage?—and then, again, that sad farewell, those dreadful last adieux, requiring still greater nerve and courage; for, however serious matters may have hitherto been, they become more serious then, and one realizes painfully the actual fact, which had been half lost before in packing up and preparations, that the deep wide sea is to separate us from our loved ones. The friends who care for your going realize it, the "outward bound" realize it, and each little circumstance impresses it upon one. The deputation from that august body, the court of directors, are about to leave the ship; the engineer, who has been pacing the deck impatiently, assumes a terrificly important air. The captain has doffed his "mufti," for the blue cloth cap with gold lace and the company's buttons, the admiralty agent lights his cigar and looks grander and more important than ever. Hands must be shaken again and again, but then for the last time, the last

fond embrace, if given, must be given in public, and if the long restrained tear *is* shed it must be shed before "all hands." The anchor already is up, and in one moment more we are away. Puff, puff goes the engine, round and round go the wheels, and round and round go the brains of the poor sea-sick passengers. The pilot takes the ship out from what sailors call danger—the land—and leaves us at the Needles. Then, in the fullest sense of the word, one is *at sea.* I will not attempt to describe to you, ye landsmen, that first solitary hour, those cold, dull, friendless, unhappy, sea-sick moments.

As Eliot Warburton tells us, "There is no departure so impressive as that by sea. Those whose hands we have but now grasped fervently in ours —those whose last faltering words are still in our ear —are now with us—now fading away in distance—gradually becoming invisible—absorbed into the sea and sky—gone like those who die; except, that even the very form we have long loved for the sake of the spirit within, is likewise gone."*

It appears to me that passengers have in these days of steam less than ever to amuse or occupy them on board during the sea voyage; or it is, perhaps, because the generality of steamer voyages are too short to enable them to take kindly to those amusements and occupations which come in their way.

I almost think that those who are sea-sick are not perhaps so much to be pitied, although sea-sickness is

* "Darien."

a melancholy occupation enough. But it is an occupation, and that is what is required at sea as much as on shore. Passengers cannot incessantly pace the deck as the officers of the watch do. Few can eat at every meal as the Germans do, nor can one find diversion always in observing the "distinguished foreigners," to be met with only on board these steamers, attack the fruit dishes and pastry; and unfortunately, too, one cannot read much at sea without becoming sleepy, or sleep much without becoming stupid. As to writing, with me it is out of the question; indeed, it seems to me almost an impossibility unless one is the captain or admiralty agent, and has a cabin to himself, with a place to write upon which allows one's legs and knees to descend in something like a position they have been educated to. I often wonder how people manage to write the diaries that profess to be written on board passenger steamers. I have generally found, whenever I attempted to write even a letter, either that the steward wanted the table for one or other of the nine daily meals, or that a clumsy servant had opened a bottle of warm soda-water exactly over the spot I had selected, perhaps the only spot on the cabin table disengaged. I suppose there is no remedy for all this. There hardly can be one in an ordinarily fitted-up steamer. But the facts exist, and they alone are enough to disturb the equilibrium of any caligraphic powers, to say nothing of the motion of the vessel. My own chief amusement on board is derived from speculation and reflection on the mysterious coincidences

in connection with passenger traffic; on that law, for instance, which orders that out-going ships to the West India colonies take so many brides and so few children while homeward-bound ships take so many children, and so few brides. I wonder, too, what becomes of the little ones, and why they are handed over to the old country instead of being retained by the new. On my last voyage to England, I remember there were sixty young children; and on my voyage out, I was going to say, nearly as many brides; certainly, two ladies out of every three were brides, and there were many ladies—genuine brides, too—yet in the honeymoon. There is no accounting for taste, but certainly of all places in the world, a passenger steamer is, I think, the last I should select for my honeymoon. But I have travelled much at sea, and my heart is hardened to a great deal of the romance of the life on board.

Apropos of brides, I may here record an occurrence which is said to have happened on board one of these steamers as she neared her destination. It was on one of those delightful moonlight nights which are only to be fully appreciated in the tropics. The heroine was a very lovely girl going out to one of the West India islands; she was one whose great beauty and charming disposition entitled her to be the admired of all on board, and she was accordingly deeply admired; admired, too, in particular by one young gentleman, a fellow-passenger. What a chain of incidents are these for a novelist! alas, that they should have fallen

to no better pen than mine! for I can only tell the tale as it was told to me.

"Confound it!" ejaculated the gentleman referred to, to his friend in the opposite cabin, as they were dressing for breakfast, "that last lurch of the ship has made me cut my lip." "The d—— it has!" his friend replied, "this proves to you that shaving is an improper operation on board, but I trust the cut is not serious; let me offer you a beauty spot from my court plaster." The cut happily proved to be of the slightest, and the "beauty spot" was almost unnecessarily accepted. On the evening of this day the inexpert shaver and our fair and beautiful friend were observed to walk long and lovingly together, and to gaze often and tenderly, now into each other's eyes, now at the bright splashing waves below, until stern propriety summoned them from the deck to the cabin, when, by a strange coincidence, the identical beauty spot was found to have transferred itself from the gentleman's upper lip to the lady's. Can you, fair reader, if I am happy enough to have one, explain to me this mystery, for he who told the tale had not the heart to ask it of those who might have explained. But if all this was flirting, was it not highly improper? I do hope none of my dear countrywomen will be given to flirting on board ship, for they should remember that flirting in public, and least of all flirting on the deck of a passenger steamer, is never charming or pretty. They must remember, too, that all that is done on board ship, and very often a *great*

deal more, is seen by some one, and talked about by every one.

Of course much on a voyage must depend upon oneself, as the directors in the regulations of the Cunard steamers pointedly remark: "It being obvious that on a passage of some days' duration the comfort of a numerous body of passengers must very much depend upon the manner in which they themselves assist in promoting it." Indeed, all the provision and care and foresight of all the courts of directors in Christendom, combined with the delicate attentions of the most perfect of captains, will not make a voyage agreeable unless people make up their minds to put up with discomforts, and things which are less pleasant than on shore. But when this is done, and one has fair weather, agreeable companions, and a determination to make the best of it, the Atlantic may be crossed pleasantly enough Reading, if it does make one sleepy; walking, if it does become monotonous; and even a game or two at "bull," are good in their way, and help the days along. One may grumble a little now and then at the discomforts which are forced upon us, for it is an Englishman's privilege to grumble, and, unless it is the first, one will probably complain of the tediousness of the voyage, but one generally leaves the ship at the end of the trip voting the captain the ablest of all able commanders, and his ship the finest and best that ever floated. We are all so grateful for a long sea voyage safely ended, that we think only of the gentle

ripple of the waves and pleasant sunshine, forgetting the black clouds and angry sea. In this genial mood, it is remarkable how much we assume to know of the qualities of the gallant captain. I should think the commanders of steamers must often smile at the compliments that are paid to them by "their warm and sincere friends" of a week's standing. Fourteen or fifteen days, wind and weather permitting, will, however, suffice to convey the passenger, under the present arrangement, to the Danish island of St. Thomas, the coaling depôt and chief West Indian station of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company. Mr. Anthony Trollope, in his book on the West Indies, has described this island better than I could possibly do—better of course than I could possibly describe any place; but his description has not wonderfully pleased the St. Thomas people. I leave my readers in his hands, however, while at St. Thomas, as I shall do while at Jamaica.

The passengers for Colon do not often remain long at either place, and it is 'specially with the Colon passengers that we have to do. They generally have time, however, to go on shore and buy a new straw hat with a muslin veil as a protection from the now hot sun, and also a lighter coat than is dreamed of in the dog-days in England. By all means buy the coat, if it only serves from St. Thomas to Colon, and Colon to Panamá. It is the perfection of a coat for these regions.

In about four days from St. Thomas the branch

steamer arrives at Jamaica, and two days from thence will land her passengers at Colon, the now Atlantic port of the Isthmus of Panamá and terminus of the Panamá Railway. Huzza! say the sea-sick passengers. Huzza! say I. For until those who minister to our wants at sea can afford to give us on board accommodation less like that we provide for cattle on shore, and more like that to which human beings in the present age accustom themselves, travelling at sea must be minus many of its charms. It is really wonderful that ladies, and men too, who on shore would not dream of sharing a large bedroom with a stranger, even of their own sex, can consent to be crowded into a cabin of the smallest possible dimensions, for a voyage of ten or twenty days, with another human being to share their misery; while, if the whole cabin is secured by an enormous extra charge, or the favour of an influential member of the court of directors, one is cruelly reminded of his narrow escape from greater discomfort by the close proximity of the unoccupied shelf of his should-be fellow-passengers. Can all this misery really be necessary, in this age of luxury, inventions and improvements? I hope to see the day when more room is provided for passengers and less for boxes of merchandise.

I have said that passengers from Europe will generally take passage by the Royal Mail steamer from Southampton, to get to Colon, but one may also get there, by way of the United States, in about the same time, and at about the same cost. Those

who have travelled in the vessels of the Cunard line know that it is impossible to travel in finer ships or in more comfortable steamers, but the Cunard line takes one only half the journey, namely, from Liverpool to New York. From New York to Colon the great American shipowner, Mr. Vanderbilt, has hitherto run his ships and ruled the waves. Passengers by the American steamers between New York complain bitterly of them; they complain of the accommodation which is generally insufficient, of the food, of its quality and quantity, and of the attendance and service generally; and I think they so complain with great reason. It was once my misfortune to have to make a voyage in one of these American or Californian steamers, as they are called, and certainly I do not remember to have suffered in my whole life eight days of more perfect misery. To begin with, we were way passengers, *i.e.*, passengers from the Isthmus, and therefore no interest or favour could get us accommodation until after the ship had sailed, and then only after all the passengers with through tickets from San Francisco had been berthed. To form part of a tail to get into a popular theatre at Paris is bad enough, but to have to perform this feat for two or three hours on board a steamer tossing about in the Caribbean sea, is something beyond all ordinary trials of patience. This, however, I did, while my poor wife was suffering utter misery on the dark, damp deck, until at last I bethought myself of the American gallantry for ladies, and induced her to push through the crowd of Yankees

to the purser's office, when we managed to get our dirty, unwholesome cabins allotted some moments before our turn.

It is beyond me to describe the nasty food, filthy table-cloths, and dirty knives and forks. It is sufficient to say that the steerage passengers, miners without luggage, from San Francisco, "feed" first, and at the same table as those who pay for the best accommodation, and that a smell of greasy cookery prevails on board from daylight to dusk.

The provisions for the voyage out and home are brought in ice from New York; and to add to our discomfort, the ice melted, or was all consumed, a few days before our arrival at New York, which was not the means of improving the quality or flavour or odour of the meat.

Among our passengers on this trip was a relation of the great Mr. Vanderbilt, who had come from San Francisco in one of the fine, well-found Pacific steamers, and it was amusing to hear the attempts at complimentary speeches with which the friends of this lady endeavoured to gain her good-will. "Well, say what they may," said one lady, "I certainly like the food on board this ship better than that on board the "Constitution." "Why so?" said the Vanderbilt lady, who was much too sensible to believe such humbug, and who would herself, I think, have presided at an "indignation meeting." "Why so, madam!" "Well, I do, and it's because there is less variety;

when I see a great variety it makes me a kind of sick."

On this voyage of so many *désagréments* I was charmed with an instance of American charity. A poor girl who had a year or two ago gone to California to seek her fortune there, as hundreds of young American women do, fell sick when she had only money enough to enable her to pay her passage back to the Northern States. She was then so much an invalid as to be unable to walk, and every day was she carried on deck tended and cared for by her fellow-passengers, people from the mines who had never seen her before. And with the open-hearted generosity of the Americans, a purse of upwards of £50 was presented to her on the day she left the ship.

We reached New York on the ninth day after leaving Colon, and were glad enough to get on shore. I could not help thinking that if I were as great a man as Mr. Vanderbilt, I would accommodate my passengers, and feed them, too, in such a way that they should have no good reason to complain. Alas! I am not so great a man as Mr. Vanderbilt.

But until passengers are so tended and cared for, I think I am right in saying that the majority of Europeans proceeding to South America will generally take the Royal Mail Company's steamers from Southampton, in preference to the route through the States, and the American steamers.

These steamers, however, arrive at Panamá every ten

days, so that one going out from Liverpool to New York might take his own time in the States, and start for Panamá at his pleasure. If Mr. Vanderbilt were not so naughty a boy, this trip would be very agreeable —as it is, those who wish to go to Panamá from the States have no choice between his ships, and an occasional opposition line—when fares are low and steamers crowded; yet it seems by the yearly statistics, that the persons who have no choice are not a few.

If any steam-ship company out of England were to continue to do its work in such a way that the public were dissatisfied, it is probable that a serious opposition line would be started; but a serious opposition line from New York to Colon is an undertaking only for a *millionnaire*, simply because Mr. Vanderbilt will not allow an opposition. Whenever an opposition has been started, passengers have been carried for next to nothing, and even for *less* than nothing; they have been paid to go. I have seen passengers admitted from New York to San Francisco, a distance by sea of, say, from New York to Colon, 1,990 miles; from Colon to Panamá, 47 miles; from Panamá to San Francisco, 3,250 miles; in all, 5,287 miles, for thirty dollars (6*l.*); of this sum twenty-five dollars (5*l.*) had to be paid for the Isthmus transit, so that there remained about one pound sterling for the conveyance of the passengers by the steamer, and for their maintenance on board for about twenty-two days. These were doubtless "good times" for the

travelling public. But this may illustrate the sort of reception that an opposition meets with. The lowest rate for the through passage now is 125 dollars. The highest, or first class, is 225 dollars.

For a number of years the Pacific Mail Company paid Mr. Vanderbilt a large monthly subsidy in order to keep out an opposition in the Pacific. These were "good times," I think, for Mr. Vanderbilt. The subsidy is no longer paid, and the shoe may possibly pinch in another direction, namely, the Nicaragua route; but I do not believe it; the Panamá route has so many advantages over that of Nicaragua, that I do not think our old friends, and my good friends, the Pacific Mail Company and the Panamá Railway Company, can be very much affected by it.

Those who have read the American news—and who at the time I write does not read with interest news from America?—will remember that one of the most important acts of the notorious "Alabama," or "290," of the Southerners, was the seizure of Vanderbilt's steamer "Ariel," in December of 1862, on her way to the Isthmus with the mails for California and the South Pacific.

People living on the Isthmus had long foreseen the exposed position of these steamers, and the easy prey that they might become to privateers. But the Government of the United States, if cognizant of the danger, appeared at least indifferent to it, and the Northern commerce, in these waters, was left at the beginning of the war pretty much to take care of

itself. Yet it was the Government who were great sufferers in the case of the "Ariel." A captain of a Federal man of war was arrested, and over one hundred and forty marines with their officers, passengers for the Pacific squadron, were disarmed, and allowed to proceed only on parol. This, I take it, was almost as serious a loss to the Government as was Mr. Vanderbilt's 260,000 dollar bond to him, and by which the ship was redeemed. If the "Alabama" had looked to the money value of her prize, the homeward-bound ship, with, perhaps, a million of specie on board, would have given a better account of herself; in either case, however, the effect on the shippers would have been the same, for, as it was, a large portion of the future specie remittances found their way by the English steamer to the English market.*

It is believed that the Pacific Mail Company will, on the expiration of their present contract with Mr. Vanderbilt, place steamers of their own on the Atlantic station; if so, judging from the conduct of the service from Panamá to San Francisco, the travelling public will be great gainers, and the route *viâ* New York to and from the Isthmus of Panamá will, doubtless, become as popular as it deserves to become. To those who wish to break the voyage to the Pacific and spend a few days in the United States, this route would be very desirable, if it were not, as at present, attended with so much discomfort.

* These steamers used to carry to New York about a million of dollars each trip, which now finds its way to Europe by British vessels.

It is also rumoured that Mr. Vanderbilt has lately withdrawn his interest from the Atlantic steamers, and that they are now .in the hands of another management; but as there is yet little visible improvement in the treatment of the passengers, it is supposed by some that the change is merely nominal. But we are now at Colon.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Island of Manzanilla.—Harbour of Colon.—Landing at Colon.—"City of Aspinwall."—Climate of Colon.—English and American Views of Colon.—Departure of the Trains.

Colon, or, as the Americans have named it, after Mr. Aspinwall, the originator of the railroad, Aspinwall, is the town which has sprung up within the last few years on the island of Manzanilla. It is now the Atlantic port of the Isthmus of Panamá, having, since the establishment of the railroad, quite superseded Chagres, which had in its turn replaced Portobelo. The New Granadians call it Colon, after the great discoverer Columbus, and we in England generally call it Colon too. But for all practical purposes it is known, and as frequently called, by the American name of Aspinwall. On this question of the name even some Americans hold that the Yankees are wrong. "Aspinwall, as the Yankees insist upon calling it," says Dr. Tomes, "with as much propriety as if the Irishmen should, in spite of the know-nothings, insist upon christening New York Kilkenny or Cork."* Certain it is that the Spanish name sounds more pleasingly to the ear, and one cannot wonder

* "Panama in 1855," by R. Tomes.

that the state authorities retain for their purposes their own title.

The town may fairly date its origin from May, 1850, but it was not until February, 1852, that it was formally inaugurated as a *city!* so it is yet very young and very green, and has few attractions to the European visitor.

"The island on which Colon is built is about a mile in length and half a mile in width, extending north and south. The busy coral insect laid its foundation deep down into the depths of the sea, and is still hard at work, with so much success, that some fear an encroachment upon the conveniences of the harbour, though this is hardly possible in any period of time short of a geological era. Coral, in all its arborescent forms, can be picked up everywhere in abundance, together with the sponge, and many varieties of shells. The white beach, which bounds the seaward edge of the island, and in fact, the railroad tract which skirts the same side of the town, are compact with the masonry of the little coral worm, which had built its wonderful structures, extended its endless subterranean passages, and erected its enduring palaces long before man had thought of his clumsy pathway of iron, and his flimsy pine-board city."*

"A gradual accumulation of organic matter, thrown up by the perpetual tide of the Atlantic, aided by the unceasing activity of the winds and birds, and then spread over the solid foundation of coral, supplied a

* "Panamá in 1855," by Robert Tomes, New York.

bed of rich soil, from which sprang the rank vegetation of tropical luxuriance. A forest, centuries old, covered the island, and the spreading mangrove, the mahogany tree, and the poisonous manzanilla, interlaced with creeping vines, which hung their graceful festoons from bough to bough, overshadowed it with a perpetual shade, until civilization dispersed the dark cloud of growth impenetrable to the sun. The settlers have cleared a narrow space seaward, leaving here and there, in the town, the shade of a towering mangrove, or a grove of cocoa-nuts rustling upon the sea-shore; while, inland, the thickly-matted jungle of the manzanilla darkens the island and exhales its poisonous breath."*

The entrance to the harbour from the sea is, however, very pretty, and impresses the traveller favourably after the monotony of the sea voyage. Columbus, the discoverer of the Atlantic coast, has the credit of having discovered this harbour, which is also called by two names, Navy Bay and Limon Bay; Navy Bay being the name given by the Spaniards. It is a little to the eastward, and about one and a half league from Chagres, and is situated between Chagres and the famous Portobelo. It is about three miles in depth, by two miles broad, being very much in the shape of a horseshoe.

There is an average depth of water of seven fathoms, and apparently it is convenient for shipping, but it is considerably exposed to violent storms and northerly

* "Panamá in 1855," by Robert Tomes.

winds at certain seasons. "The chief harbour is to the west, where the largest ships can anchor within a short distance of the shore, but such is the exposure to the fierce northers which occasionally blow, that no vessel is perfectly secure. The hazardous anchorage was sadly illustrated in 1855, when a fierce north wind blew in from the Atlantic, and swept the fleet of traders from their moorings, carrying a brig through the wooden pier, dashing a large vessel, from which no man escaped, upon the neighbouring shore, and strewing the beach with wrecks. The steamer "Illinois," then in dock, was only saved from destruction, of which she was in great peril, by hastily firing up, letting go her hawsers, and forcing herself with all the might of her engine, into the very teeth of the wind. The harbour will never be secure until a large breakwater is built at the north-west of the island. There is a roadstead on the east of the island, where there is a considerable depth of water, but it is so little secure, that it does not deserve to be termed a harbour."*

The moles or piers, and sea-walls, as well as ships lying in the harbour, suffer very seriously from this want of shelter, and will continue so to suffer, unless docks be made, or a breakwater, as suggested, be carried out. If the railway company get an extension of their contract, one or the other will probably be done; but whether or no, the harbour of Colon will never be perfectly safe without it. In November, 1862, again, ships were driven on shore, and moles

* "Panama in 1855," by Robert Tomes.

carried away, almost without an instant's warning, causing a great sacrifice of property. It was here that the Royal Mail Company lost their steamer "Avon," which was driven on a coral reef, even when she had steam up, and was preparing to go to sea with the homeward mails. This vessel had nearly a million of dollars, in treasure, on board, and also a large portion of her cargo. The treasure, as well as the cargo, was fortunately afterwards saved, but the ship became a complete wreck, and was soon afterwards sold by auction for about 300*l*. The loss of this fine ship could only be attributed to the insecure harbour of Colon. When apprised of the disaster of the stranding of the "Avon," the directors of the Royal Mail Company immediately directed an inquiry into circumstances connected with it, and the court of inquiry acquitted the captain and officers of all blame. "Those who knew the character of the anchorage at Colon," said the report, "would see the justice of that decision. It was nothing else than an open roadstead, into which rollers of terrific character often set, without any previous warning. So it happened on the occasion on which the "Avon" was lost, for the rollers set in with such violence that it became utterly impossible to save the ship. At the time that the "Avon" went ashore, an American man-of-war, the "Bainbridge," was also driving fast on shore, when a boat from the "Avon," manned by three officers, an engineer, and a fireman of that vessel, rescued the officers and men from the ship, though, as

it happened, she remained at her anchors. The President of the United States felt so pleased with the assistance rendered by the men of the "Avon," that he sent presents of watches to the officers, and money to the firemen.*

On this occasion, too, an English sailing vessel, and other ships and steamers lying in the harbour, had narrow escapes of being stranded. These are true and unmistakable drawbacks to the harbour of Colon; but Captain Pim, writing of his own project, leads his readers to suppose, in addition, that the landing and embarkation at Colon must be effected by means of small boats. "My project," he says, "is to connect Realejo and Gorgon Bay by means of the iron road running from alongside the wharf in the one port, to a position close to the ocean steamer in the other, thus embarking and disembarking passengers and freight with an ease and rapidity far superior to the accommodation afforded either at Suez or Panamá, *where it is necessary to reach the shore in boats*, take the train and re-embark in either small steamers or barges before the transfer from one ocean to the other is completed."†

This statement is certainly incorrect, as far as it regards Colon, where the steamers, as a rule, lie alongside the wharves, and so land their passengers and discharge their cargo. As it is proposed to do no

* Report of the Directors of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, May, 1863.

† Pim's "Gate of the Pacific."

more than convey the passengers "in the one port to a position close to the ocean steamer," it does not appear that the new route, in this particular, offers much advantage over the Pamaná route.

One cannot but be impressed, on arrival at Colon, with the apparent harmony of nature in its wildest state, with modern civilization. Here may be observed, yet flourishing as before the visit of the Americans and their railway, the wild trees and fine cocoa-nut groves of the tropics, and in the very midst of the smoke and noise of the railway company's factory and steam-engine. Well might my fair countrywoman, on her arrival, ask what wild animal it was that was roaring.

Once, however, the passenger steps on shore, the agreeable impressions fade, for Colon is in every respect one of those places to which distance lends enchantment. The town has some two hundred houses, built, with one or two exceptions, chiefly of wood, we are told in the railway company's hand-book, "in a style midway between the New England house and verandaed structures usual in the tropics."* I confess I hardly know in what style this is; but it is not, I take it, intended to imply that the Colon houses have much pretension either to the useful, comfortable, or beautiful. That they are comfortable, is a moral impossibility. No house can be comfortable for a tropical residence that is built of wood only; but as I have said before, Colon is very young and very green.

* "Hand-book of the Panamá Railroad."

The houses are green, the trees are green, the streets are green, the surroundings are green, but *greener* still than all, are the persons, I think, who, having a choice, select Colon for a residence.

The principal buildings are the offices, stores, and dwelling-houses necessary for the purposes of the railway company and its *employés*, and the buildings that have most pretension belong to this company, while the others are constructed on ground leased from it. The Royal Mail Company have a corrugated iron house here, and an office of the same material, a very unsuitable material, I think, for such a place as Colon.*

The one principal street runs along the sea-shore. Here are to be found Yankee hotels as smart as paint and showy sign-boards can make them, and general provision and clothing stores on the one side, and the wharves or landing-stages for the shipping on the other. There are, too, smaller streets, or rather lanes, at the back, which are yet separated from the chief street by partly filled-up swamps and plank bridges. That Colon can be even tolerably healthy, so long as these swamps exist, is a matter of wonder to me, but the Colon people think it is healthy, more healthy than Panamá.

A road has recently been made along the sea beach. This road winds, as it were, its course through, or alongside of, the wild forest trees which yet remain on

* The Railroad Company have recently built a Protestant church at Colon, and this building is of stone.

the island uncleared. It is the favourite *paseo* or promenade of the residents, as it is, indeed, their only one; and when it can be enjoyed, it is certainly the most attractive part, to my taste, of Colon.

Rain water is caught in large iron tanks during the wet season, for the supply of the shipping and inhabitants of Colon in the dry; and, as the rains prevail for about eight months of the year, water, at least, is abundant. Provisions, with the exception of beef, fish, poultry, and tropical vegetables, are imported regularly from the United States and England—chiefly from the States. The town enjoys, too, at all times, an abundant supply of American ice, no small blessing this in a country with the thermometer always playing about between 70 and 90 degrees.

The English language is now generally spoken here, even by the New Granadians, who make this place their residence; but Colon is, of course, in fiction, if not in fact, under the Government, and subject to the laws of New Granada, and it politically forms part of the State of Panamá. In addition to the local authorities, headed by a prefect, one finds here consular agents from England, France, Italy, and the United States; and the place is made more important, by its being the head-quarters, on the Isthmus, of the railway company. Here its chief officials and representatives reside.

The population comprises a great many Jamaica negroes, and may be estimated, in whites and blacks, at about 1,500 to 2,000 persons.

There was, until 1864, no church here of any kind, but the railway company have a chaplain in their pay, who was, until 1864, the only Protestant minister on the Isthmus. The Bishop of Honolulu, on his way to the Sandwich Islands, endeavoured to do some little good here, in the way of marrying and christening, but I am afraid the lower orders of the Colon people are a stray flock.

Colon is chiefly supported by the passengers passing over the Isthmus, and by the requirements of the shipping. The local trade is almost nominal. The arrival of the steamer from New York and California are equally advantageous for Colon, as it is at this place that the American passengers are always detained to await the convenience of the tide at Panamá, and other circumstances attending the connection.

On these occasions the population is doubled by the new comers; the hotels, deserted the day before, are thronged, and mine hosts awakened once more to the consciousness of their functions of taking-in people. Bar-rooms again reek with an atmosphere of gin-sling and brandy cock-tail, which the busy bilious-faced bar-keeper, only yesterday prostrate with fever, shuffles across the counter in a quick succession of drinks to his throng of impatient, thirsty customers; billiard-balls, temporarily stowed away in pockets, begin to circulate, driven by the full force of sturdy red-flannel-sleeved arms; the shops flutter out in the breeze their display of Panamá hats, and loose linen garments, and adding a hundred per cent. to their prices, do a brisk

business: the very monkeys quicken their agility, the parrots chatter with redoubled loquacity, the macaws shriek sharper than ever, the wild hogs, ant-eaters, and even the sloths (for all these zoological varieties abound in the hotels and shops of Aspinwall), are aroused to unwonted animation."*

"What a contrast does not Aspinwall or Colon, as we Britishers persist in calling it, present to the tottering cities along these coasts. Here is a little town of yesterday springing up like a mushroom, gleaming at all points with *genuyne* Yankee-precocity and energy, unassisted by state aid, but nevertheless shooting ahead from the mere wholesome stimulus of private enterprise, there are wharves and stores and offices, and restaurants and hotels tenanted by sharp-visaged, keen-witted tenants, who do not wait listlessly at their doors, but who emulate each other in waylaying, coaxing and wheedling it with all the earnestness of down-east blarney. The luxuries and amusements of old-country life may be enjoyed there too; Wenham lake ice, and Thurston's billiard tables are in full-blown existence at this new location, and a crowning proof of enterprising promptitude may be seen perched on the points of some tall scaffolding in the shape of an extemporized lighthouse."†

The above, which I have transcribed from descriptions of Colon six and ten years ago, might almost in every particular serve for to-day. The only differ-

* "Panamá in 1855."

† "Daily News," Dec. 27, 1858. Article, "Southampton to Acapulco."

ence is that passengers do not generally remain there so long now as they formerly did, but on the other hand the arrivals are more frequent.

The new "city" has been on two or three occasions nearly destroyed by fire, and again so late as July 1864, it was in a few hours half burned down, the dry pine board houses offering no resistance to the flames. But with that energy which raised a town on what a few years ago was a forest swamp, new buildings are speedily erected, and one almost seeks in vain for traces of the fire which had burnt the unhappy residents out of house and home. With all these fires there is not even a fire-engine at Colon.

Among the improvements at present carried on at Colon is the construction of three fine new wharves built on iron piles, two of which are for the railroad company, and one for the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company. The latter will be upwards of four hundred feet in length.*

The following observations, respecting the climate of Colon, were taken by the Panamá Railroad Company's Physician, Dr. White, during the year 1863, and may be relied upon :—

* Panamá "Star and Herald," Feb. 5, 1865.

	Highest Temperature.	Lowest Temperature.	Mean Temperature.	Rain.
	°	°	°	Inches.
January	82·4	67·3	78·0	1·75
February	82·2	71·0	78·9	2·94
March	84·0	72·0	79·1	·85
April	85·0	72·0	79·0	7·35
May	90·5	71·5	80·0	13·09
June	88·5	72·0	78·4	15·32
July	85·5	70·5	77·9	25·76
August	85·0	71·1	78·2	16·31
September	88·8	70·5	79·4	15·54
October	86·0	70·5	76·8	11·22
November	84·8	70·0	77·2	17·59
December	82·1	68·2	76·8	15·21

Rain during the year	136·96 inches.
Mean temperature	78°·2′
Highest	90°·5′
Lowest	67°·3′

It has been remarked that the climate on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus is more humid and variable than on the Pacific, which is drier, warmer and more uniform, and that there is a great difference in the quantity of rain which falls during the year over each locality, the quantity at Colon being much in excess of that at Panamá.

The annexed table shows the quantity of rain falling at Colon during the years 1861 and 1862.

	1861. Inches.	1862. Inches.
January	3·91	5·42
February	2·31	1·94
March	2·88	0·70
April	3·61	2·51
May	19·01	4·27
June	19·28	

	1861. Inches.	1862 Inches.
July . . .	13·82	..
August* . . .	14·99	..
September . .	9·62	15·51
October . . .	7·10	13·10
November . .	26·80	43·02
December . .	18·80	16·83

The foregoing accounts of Colon, to the American ear, will hardly appear just, while to those Englishmen who have visited the place they will, I am sure, appear too flattering. It is a difficult course to steer midway between such *high* lands and *low* lands as the following recent descriptions which have appeared of Colon—one from an American, one from an English pen:

The "Paseo-Coral," says the American author,† "as this beautiful walk or drive is called, was built by the citizens of Aspinwall, every facility and aid being rendered by the railroad company; and morning and evening, especially on Sundays and holidays, it is a favourite resort of the inhabitants of all classes, a few on horseback or in light waggons, but the great majority on foot. Any lover of the beautiful in nature will find it worth his while to make a tour of this 'Paseo.' On one side, charming glimpses of the ocean and of the 'Archipelago' (which cuts off the Island of Manzanilla from the mainland) meet the eye at every turn, and at almost every point the conchologist may step out upon the coral reef and find sea shells, fans, and coral to an indefinite extent. On the other, a

* Observations omitted in June, July, and August, 1862.

† Dr. Otis, "Handbook of the Panamá Railroad."

great variety of tropical vegetation invites the lover of botany to cull from its varied and luxuriant growth. Here and there narrow paths lead from it to little native plantations of banana, papaya, and yam, imbedded in which the native hut, with its severely simple furnishing, may be seen, and will convey to the traveller an idea of the habits and character of the native inhabitants of this country."

"A rose by any other name would smell as sweet," says the British author,* "and Colon, or Aspinwall, will be equally vile whatever you may call it. It is a wretched, unhealthy, miserably-situated, but thriving little American town, created by and for the railway and passenger traffic, which comes here both from Southampton and New York. . . . I visited the place three times, for I passed over the Isthmus on my way to Costa Rica; and, on my return from that country, I went again to Panamá, and, of course, back to Colon. I can say nothing in its favour." †

I have said that it is a difficult course to steer between the English and American taste respecting Colon. In the short description I have given of it, I have endeavoured to steer that course. But I have also endeavoured to describe the place faithfully. That the Americans, and particularly the railroad people, should see *Aspinwall* in a brighter light than others do is natural, for they almost look upon the place as a colony of their own, and, as our British author tells us, "their energy and their money and their habits

* Anthony Trollope, "West Indies and Spanish Main." † Ibid.

are undoubtedly in the ascendant."* And so "Aspinwallers" are attached to their small spot of swamp, "Oh, it's very superior to Panamá" (Panamá is the rival city). "It is decidedly healthier, decidedly cooler, decidedly cleaner."†

I think I have now *done* Colon (if I have not done justice to it), but for those who care to know what the conspicuous iron building which attracts attention on landing is, and generally contains, the annexed account, quoted in the handbook of the railroad (a useful little book published in 1861), may be interesting. It will, at all events, give some idea of the nature of the articles which find their way across the isthmus.

"This is the freight depôt of the Panamá Railway Company, and the following description by a recent visitor will give the traveller an idea of its usual internal appearance:

"'Bales of quina bark from the interior were piled many tiers deep, and reached the iron triangular-braced roof of the edifice. Ceroons of indigo and cochineal from San Salvador and Guatemala; coffee from Costa Rica, and cocoa from Ecuador; sarsaparilla from Nicaragua, and ivory-nuts from Portobelo; copper ore from Bolivia; silver bars from Chili; boxes of hard dollars from Mexico, and gold ore from California; hides from the whole range of the North and South Pacific coast; hundreds of bushels of glistening pearl oyster shells from the fisheries of Panamá lay

* Anthony Trollope, "West Indies and Spanish Main."

† "Panamá as a Home," in "All the Year Round," May 9, 1863.

heaped along the floor, flanked by no end of North American beef, pork, flour, bread, and cheese, for the provisioning of the Pacific coast, and English and French goods for the same market; while in a train of cattle cars that stood on one of the tracks were huddled about a hundred meek-looking lamas from Peru, on their way to the Island of Cuba, among whose mountains they are used for beasts of burden as well as for their wool.' Its situation is on the direct line of the road, its seaward side opening by great doors out upon the waters of the bay, so as to allow vessels of light tonnage to discharge cargo directly into the depôt, while a covered wharf extends from the centre into six fathoms of water."*

Let the traveller arrive, however, when he may, unless he is really disposed to remain a day at Colon, he will hardly have time for more than a passing acquaintance with it, for the passenger trains, which ordinarily run only once or twice daily, are now arranged to meet the requirements of every traffic, and start shortly after the arrival of every steamer bringing passengers for Panamá, and, from three to four hours after the train leaves, the traveller may find himself either safely on board his ship in the Pacific, or in very tolerable quarters in his hotel at Panamá.

* "Handbook of the Panamá Railroad."

CHAPTER IX.

Railway Fare.—Travellers' Luggage.—Improvement of the Railway.—Isthmus Scenery.—Crossing the Isthmus in 1853.—Crossing the Isthmus in old times.—Arrival of the Americans.

THE railway fare is twenty-five dollars (about £5), and there is an extra charge of five cents a pound for luggage in excess of 50 lbs. in weight. This appears a great deal, and doubtless is a high fare for forty-seven and a half miles' travel by railway, but it is a flea-bite to what was paid in former days for the isthmus transit. The company, too, are very liberal in granting free passages; and although they do not reducetheir *fares* to so low a figure as outsiders think they might, they often help along with a free passage a poor fellow who stands truly in need of it, while naval officers of all countries, scientific men, and authorities resident on the Isthmus are handed "complimentary cards," for their passage across when they desire it, with a liberality, I should think, unequalled by any railway company in the world.* Naval officers, however, going backwards and forwards at the expense of their country, are expected to say so, and pay their

* I take this opportunity to express my own acknowledgments for the many acts of courtesy which I have personally received from the managers of the company.

fares. Boxes of clothes and instruments for British naval officers on the Pacific station are also transmitted over the line, free of cost, to their owners; so we Englishmen must not particularly complain on the score of the high charge. Indeed, it somehow happens that, if people can go thus far from their homes, they can get over the railroad part of the expenses of the journey without coming to a stand-still; and this, I suppose, the directors know. The charges, of course, tell most heavily on the American passengers, for they are many to our one. Perhaps some fine day *they* may grumble, and perhaps then the fares may become lower; and, whenever they are lower for the Americans they will be lower for us. There is no distinction of classes for the general passengers—everybody pays the same fare and occupies the same carriage. This rule, I believe, is invariably observed in America, and the Panamá railroad in its management is essentially American. The charge for luggage, however, tells probably more on the people of all other nations than it does on Americans. The wonderfully small quantity of luggage with which the generality of Americans appear capable of travelling is astonishing, and may almost be quoted as an *institution*. It is the British female, with twenty-five boxes and sundry small parcels, who here "pays the piper." This question of luggage is a very serious one for the consideration of travellers in this part of the world. I really think the Americans understand these things better than we do. I presume the hotel life they live, and the often not having a place to

hoard up useless things in, contributes in a great measure to this. But I do not think that English ladies generally are, with all their luggage, better dressed, or even so well dressed, when travelling so far from home, as American ladies are. In fact, English ladies never seem to me to be able to *get at* anything, while American ladies seem to have *nothing* that they cannot get at. These remarks are offered in all humility by one who loves to see his countrywomen the best and most properly-dressed people, abroad, as they are in their own homes—but by one who cannot stand a dirty, faded, used-up, fine drawing-room dress, upon the plea that it is "good enough for the voyage." I must confess, however, that this subject of luggage, or, as the Americans call it, baggage, is a weak point of mine—I am afraid, a very weak point; and as it is the case generally when persons have weak points to maintain, that they are particularly obstinate upon them, I am particularly obstinate upon this point. I believe I have even had more difference of opinion with my own wife, and feminine friends generally, upon it, than upon any other subject; and I am sure I have had more differences of opinion with cabmen upon it than I have had with any other class of men upon any subject. But, in this generation, I fear, reform with us is hopeless. Never shall I forget what I had to undergo with regard to luggage only the last time I was in London. We—my wife and myself—were invited to spend three nights at a friend's house a few miles out of town, and we had the temerity to take between us

only one average-sized portmanteau, a small tin box, and my wife's dressing-case. "Is this *all* your luggage, sir?" said the coachman who met us at the railway station. "Is this *all* your luggage, sir?" inquired the servant who carried our traps up-stairs. "Is this *all* your luggage, ma'am?" said the maid who showed my wife into her room. I never in my life felt so guilty. I would have almost given up my crotchet, and anything that I possessed at that moment, for a large box upon which I could have stuck an address-card. And yet it was very hard. The portmanteau and box carried capitally all we required; in fact, more than we required. For myself, I took back clean shirts to London; and I trust I am not given to shirts that are not clean. Yet we had evidently done something very shocking, if not very wicked, in only taking with us as much luggage as we required, and as much as, in addition to our two selves, the one horse which drew us to the railway, from one end of London to the other, could conveniently carry.

The Panamá Railway Company have a capital plan with regard to luggage—one which, I think, we in England might adopt with great advantage. A check or receipt is given to every passenger for the exact number of his packages, or of the packages which one cannot take into the carriage with him, and on arrival at the destination the packages are returned in conformity with this check. The operation, as managed on the Isthmus, is very quickly got over, and all the confusion of people scrambling for their own things, as in

England, is avoided. Every package, for instance, belonging to Mr. Smith is numbered, in blue chalk, 49, and Mr. Smith receives a check numbered 49, by which he claims his effects. I recommended the adoption of this system, some years ago, on board the South Pacific steamers, and it has answered admirably. The practice in France is somewhat similar, but much more tedious. On the Isthmus it is not tedious at all.

The carriages used on the railroad are constructed on the American principle, with jointed seats, and central passages; and at the sides of the carriages are venetian blinds, which can be lowered or closed at will. The backs and bottoms of the seats are made of open cane-work, and the carriages are free from padding or cushions of any kind, which enables them to be cleaned with greater facility. The officials of the line are nearly all Americans.

Captain Pim, who has written more about the Panamá Railway than any one lately, informs his readers that "the charge for freight is on the same high scale as the passenger traffic." He says: "Take, for example, live stock: cattle, by passenger train, exactly the same as passengers; sheep, by passenger train, owner's risk, twelve dollars and a half each, the same as a child under twelve years of age." *

In order that my readers may see for themselves what the charges of the railway company really are,

* "The Gate of the Pacific."

I insert in this book a copy of the company's tariff. In the above paragraph the author of "The Gate of the Pacific" has been evidently carried away by his enthusiasm for a new route. By a perusal of the company's tariff, it will be seen that the above-mentioned high charges for cattle by passenger trains are merely fixed to exclude animals from passenger trains. The ordinary charge for stock is, for cattle, five dollars, and for pigs two dollars each. We can afford to play fairly; the company's tariff is high enough, without exaggeration, for all argument.

A correspondent of "The Daily News"* says, perhaps correctly, that "In the old country the Panamá Railroad is regarded as a sort of make-shift affair, laid in hot haste over miasmatic quagmires, on crazy piles, or sliding along steep hill-sides or yawning ravines at a slant or angle of forty-five degrees, with creaking bridges, inferior cars, and cashiered engines." But this opinion, however it might have been merited at first, is certainly not merited now. The road has, year by year, been improved; and the accidents which at first occurred occasionally, from the train running off the track, and from the newly-formed road giving way, are now no longer to be feared. The company keep constantly employed large bodies of labourers in breaking stones for the re-ballasting of the road as it becomes necessary, so that every year it is firmer and more secure. Accidents indeed are now of very rare occurrence."

* Dec. 27, 1858, "Southampton to Acapulco."

As before shown, the Panamá Railroad has been in regular and successful operation for ten years, having been organized in February, 1855. Its capacity for every description of business has been fully tested. Not only are the ordinary kinds of merchandise, and the various productions of the Pacific, constantly transported over the road, but also articles of the coarsest and heaviest description, such as the following—coal, guano, lumber timber, anchors and chains of the largest size, cannon shot, shells, ores, ironwork in pieces, weighing twenty-five tons; heavy machinery, iron launches (and even steamers in compartments), whale-oil, &c., together with every variety of Pacific produce.*

The principal part of the route by railway lies through the midst of a tropical forest, and the scenery is, of the kind, of the wildest and most picturesque description. There are several small stations between Colon and Panamá, at which, however, the trains only stop for the purposes of the Company, and for receiving supplies of wood for fuel; they are simply small native villages or places of residence for the *employés* of the railway company. The traveller crossing the Isthmus for the first time cannot fail to be impressed with the greatness of the enterprise which has thus placed a tolerably good railway in the very midst of a wild, comparatively unknown, and almost impassable forest.

* Private letter, afterwards published, from the President of the "Panamá Railroad Company," to one of the Directors.

But if little has been written about Panamá generally, descriptions are not wanting of the glorious scenery of the passage across the Isthmus. It would be superfluous to add descriptions to the number of those already published. I will rather select one or two for the reader's information.

As Irving tells us in his "Life of Columbus," "There is a wonderful splendour, variety, and luxuriance in the vegetation of those quick and ardent climates. The verdure of the groves and the colours of the flowers and blossoms derive a vividness from the transparent purity of the air, and the deep serenity of the azure heavens. The forests, too, are full of life, swarming with birds of brilliant plumage. Painted varieties of parrots and woodpeckers create a glitter amidst the verdure of the grove; and the humming-birds rove from flower to flower, resembling, as has been well said, animated particles of a rainbow. Nor is the least beautiful part of animated nature the various tribes of insects peopling every plant, displaying brilliant coats-of-mail which sparkle like precious gems."*

"When once the deadly swamp is passed, nothing can exceed the beauty of the vegetation through which the line passes. Palm-trees of many varieties weave their broad leaves into thick screens, to shut out the sun; tufts of bamboo are interspersed with heavy trees, whose branches support gigantic orchids, and whose stems are concealed amid a mass of purple

* Irving's "Life of Columbus."

convolvulus and divers brilliant parasites. To one only accustomed to see a thickly-populated and highly-cultivated country traversed by railways, and familiar with tropical jungles only when they are penetrated by the devious little paths of the wood-cutter, or the hunter, this dash through the virgin forest at the tail of a locomotive is very imposing, and presents with unusual force to the mind the important change which steam is destined to effect on the face of nature." *

"Now this I will maintain," says another account, "that you may travel far and wide before you will see stranger, wilder, finer forest scenery and vegetation than that of the Panamá Isthmus, as you tear through a vast silent forest, where giant trees, compared to which our largest English oaks are as toys; where the mango, the guava, the palm, untouched by man's hand, grow and produce and reproduce, till millions and millions multiply; truly, the sight of God's work and man's labour brought into such strange, incongruous contact gives rise to new and stirring thoughts."

By this passage the New World, cut in half, has been, as it were, united—not without hard, fearful labour, struggle, and death. The road was strewed with dead labourers—victims of fever, exhaustion, suicide—like a battlefield. An object was gained through bloodshed, as battles are gained. It is a solemn thought, when one passes through." †

* Mr. Oliphant's description quoted in the "The Gate of the Pacific."

† "Panamá as a Home," in "All the Year Round," May 9, 1863.

"When a traveller, newly arrived from Europe, penetrates for the first time into the forests of South America, Nature presents herself to his view in an unexpected aspect; the objects by which he is surrounded bear but a faint resemblance to the pictures drawn by celebrated writers on the banks of the Mississippi, in Florida, and other temperate regions of the New World. He perceives at every step that he is not upon the verge, but in the centre of the torrid zone. . . . . If he be sensible to the beauties of rural scenery, he finds it difficult to account to himself for the diversified feelings which he experiences; he is unable to determine what most excites his admiration; whether the solemn silence of the wilderness, or the individual beauty and contrast of the forms, or the vigour and freshness of vegetable life, that characterizes the climate of the tropics. It might be said that the earth, overloaded with plants, does not leave them room enough for growth. The trunks of the trees are everywhere covered with a thick carpet of verdure; and were the orchidaceæ and the plants of the genera piper and pothos which grow upon a single courbaril or American fig-tree, transferred to the ground, they would cover a large space. By this singular denseness of vegetation, the forests, like the rocks and mountains, enlarge the domain of organic nature. The same lianas which creep along the ground rise to the tops of the trees, and pass from one to the other, at the height of more than a hundred feet." *

* "Humboldt's Travels."

All this one is happily enabled to realise now on the Isthmus, with no greater fatigue than that of sitting for two or three hours in a railway carriage. But that the traveller may form some idea of the previous difficulties of the transit across the Isthmus, I may give my own experience of it, no later back than the year 1853. I extract this from my journal, written at that time, and I wrote then, as I do now, without exaggeration. The traveller who finds himself comfortably carried across the Isthmus in a comparatively cool railway carriage, will hardly be able to form an idea of the fatigue, annoyance, and expense of crossing in "old times;" and, as I have said, the account of my experiences is no exaggerated account of what had to be undergone by passengers even ten or twelve years ago. Yet even then thousands of men, ay, and delicate women and young children, were exposed to the dangers of the Isthmus transit.

We anchored in Navy or Limon Bay, at Colon, *alias* Aspinwall, and at all events the Atlantic port of the Isthmus of Panamá, and our port of disembarcation. After a very early and hurried breakfast we left the good ship, which had brought us thus far safely, for the miserable town now rising out of a swamp, and struggling for a new name; a place, however, of growing importance, in consequence of the rapidly-increasing traffic across the Isthmus of Panamá. It is, and is to be, the Atlantic terminus of the railway now being constructed, and at present it supports three or four so-called hotels; while buildings as osten-

tatious as painted wood and large sign-boards can make them, are fast appearing in what a few months ago was an almost uninhabitable swampy island.

We found here, too, a British vice-consul, who had removed from the old port of Chagres, and who had his office on the top of one of the several "medical stores," which the unhealthy climate and bad liquors of the "drinking saloons" doubtless lucratively supported. Here, too, we began to learn the value of a dollar, and the free Jamaica negroes' estimate of service equivalent to that coin; indeed everything, as may be supposed, is enormously dear, and a great many shillings have to be expended before one gets one's luggage removed from the landing to the railway car, a distance of a few yards. . . . . .

We had the privilege to leave this unattractive spot by a train at nine A.M., and after frequent stopping to take in supplies of wood, that being the fuel consumed, we arrived at Barbacoas at about noon, having left at a village of huts called Gatun, a large number of native labourers from Carthagena, who had been sent down in the steamer with us under contract to the railway company; and here at Barbacoas twenty or thirty huts served as sleeping and feeding places for the workmen. A gentleman who is employed by the railway company to procure men from Carthagena to work on the line, told me that he had himself sent down about 8,000 of these labourers; and that had the company been dependent on other labour the railway never could have been thus far completed.

Europeans, Coolies, Chinese, and even Jamaica negroes, were all found unable to stand the climate and the work;" for, as the company's hand-book has since well expressed it—

"The first thirteen miles beginning at Navy Bay, was through a deep morass covered with the densest jungle, reeking with malaria, and abounding with almost every species of wild beasts, noxious reptiles, and venomous insects known in the tropics."*

The railway is built for a long distance on piles driven into the swamp, and it is reckoned that the life of one man was lost for every pile driven in; but I heard another calculation of one man for every foot of ground. Be this as it may, it is in every respect a wonderful undertaking in such a climate; for miles, it seems to me, we have been literally running through a swamp, and it will be only by great labour and after many months, that the stability of the line can be maintained by filling in with earth and stones between the piles. But this process, in course of time, will render the road independent of the piles. The scenery on either side is very attractive, and gives one the idea of a ramble through an unknown tropical forest, without the fatigue attending such a pursuit; for although the busy train has thus far left nothing in its path that could impede its progress, it has removed or interfered with but little beyond its own immediate dominions. The distance from Colon to Barbacoas is

* "Handbook of the Panamá Railroad."

23½ miles, and the railway fare is eight dollars (1*l.* 12*s.*), with an extra charge for luggage.

At Barbacoas we made up a party of fourteen, including some ladies, and hired a canoe to convey us to Gorgona, on the Chagres River, and our next stage; for this we paid four dollars (16*s.*) each person, and after an attempt at refreshment, which cost another dollar, and paying 'just one more dollar' to have our luggage put into the boat (although we had previously paid to have it brought from the train to the water's edge), we started on our trip. We were poled along the river by five native boatmen, whose dress was of that light description which approaches to "airy nothing." The men, however, worked well, refreshing themselves now and then by floundering into the bright stream, returning to their work without the preliminary of towels. We were fortunate in having for our journey a lovely day, and a good-sized, tolerably comfortable boat, which was nicely shaded from the sun by awnings and curtains; so the afternoon was spent pleasantly enough; now in concocting and drinking refreshing beverages, under the direction of an Italian lady, a great hand at that art; now in trying our pistols at the wild turkey and water-fowl that presented itself. The Chagres River, as far as we traversed it, was interesting and pretty. The stream was brisk and clear, and was shaded nearly the whole way by the luxuriant trees and pretty orchids of the tropics, and we happily escaped with only one or two smart showers during the trip.

We arrived at Gorgona, a small native village, about thirty-five miles from the Atlantic, between five and six in the evening, and as it was then too late to go on to Cruces by boat, we were compelled to make up our minds, and, as it turned out, our beds too, to spend the night at Gorgona. Here four or five wooden houses, bearing large sign-boards, offering hospitality and accommodation to travellers, struggled for our patronage, but, as we afterwards found, this accommodation extended little beyond the *outside* declaration; indeed, a more dirty, disagreeable, uncomfortable place to pass a night in, would with difficulty be found in the highway of modern travel.

We selected, "faute de mieux," the Union Hotel, and after paying more dollars to have our luggage conveyed from the boat thither, we sat down with ravenous appetites to doubtful eggs, the hardest of hard Yankee ham, rice, and preserved cranberries; and from all such fare may I be preserved in future! Hunger, however, knows no laws. We had not made a regular or an eatable meal since our last dinner on board the West India steamer, so this fare, bad as it was, was acceptable. The place contained a few stores and more drinking "saloons," which were principally kept by the "enterprising Yankee." The Gorgona road to Panamá was just then open, it being passable only in the dry season, and it was estimated that two thousand persons had passed through this place during the last week on their way to or from California. I noticed here one sign-board, the position of which struck me

as peculiarly *à propos* to the true state of things; it was that of the "Traveller's Home," and either by accident or design, the board was hanging upside down! After our meal, we took a stroll over the village to arrange the preliminaries for our departure in the morning, and one of my companions, an officer in the navy, who was proceeding to the Pacific to join his ship, found that a new trunk which he had brought from England was too large to be conveyed by mule to Panamá. It had cost him 5*l.* in London, and seven dollars (1*l.* 8*s.*) to get it thus far on the road; but there was no help for it, he had to sell it here for four dollars (16*s.*), and pay a dollar more for a packing-needle to sew his traps up in blankets, which blankets cost some dollars more.

We decided to take the Gorgona road, and arranged to have saddle mules ready early in the morning, to convey us to Panamá for 20 dollars (4*l.*) each, and to pay 16½ cents., or 9*d.* a pound additional, for the conveyance of our luggage. Having settled these important details, paid down the cash, and given up our luggage, except that which could be strung to our saddles, we went to inspect a "free ball," which had been got up with all available splendour in celebration of some feast, and here we had a rare opportunity of seeing assembled many shades of colour in the human face divine; a gorgeous display of native jewellery, and not the most happy mixture of bright colours in the toilettes of those who claimed to be the "fair sex." Dancing, however, and drinking, too, seemed to be kept

up with no lack of spirit and energy, to the unharmonious combination of a fiddle and a drum; and those of the assembly whose tastes led them to quieter pursuits, had the opportunity of losing at adjoining gambling-tables the dollars they had so easily and quickly extracted from the travellers who had had occasion to avail themselves of their services. These tables, too, were kept by the "enterprising Yankee." Having seen all this, and smoked out our cigars, we sought our beds, when we found for each a shelf or "bunk" in a room which our host boasted had, at a push, contained twenty-five or thirty persons. We luckily were fewer, and the fatigue of our journey sent "soft slumbers" to aid us to forget our present cares and wants, and prepare us for the morrow.

On awaking at daylight, I found a basin and a pail of water set out in the open air on an old pianoforte, which some rash traveller had probably been tempted to bring thus far on the road, and, as its interior would not conveniently sew up in blankets like the contents of my friend R. N.'s box, it had become so far reduced in circumstances as to serve as our wash-hand stand. I at once proceeded to make a most refreshing open-air toilette, and after a breakfast of the same nature as our supper, we mounted our mules for our onward journey.

It was a strange scene that starting from Gorgona, and reminded me of the famous start of good John Gilpin. But there was no fear of our steeds bolting with us. They had only arrived from Panamá the

night before, and any animal less stupid than a mule would have flatly refused the journey now. For us, "necessitas non habet legem." And all honour must be given to the Isthmus mules, notwithstanding their stupidity, for the good service these hard-working, sure-footed animals did, in days gone by, and did then, under bad food and worse treatment.

Our party was now broken up, and with only six of my old companions, a small despatch-case, a bag, and a soda-water bottle of brandy tied to the saddle, I bade farewell to the shades of Gorgona, at seven A.M. The brandy was the last of the good things of the ship, and the only provision which I was induced to take, although in those days the West India steamers provided pic-nic packages for the Isthmus travellers.

We had not proceeded more than a mile on our road before we overtook an Italian of our yesterday's party, with his wife and daughter, all walking; the two latter being afraid to ride the mules they had hired, and which followed them, led by the guides.

The road, a narrow bridle-path through the forest, was bad beyond description; in many places the mud was so deep that it covered the legs of both mule and rider, while those who were not thrown off into it, were frequently obliged to unseat themselves to allow the animal to get out of it. The weather was excessively hot, although we had several heavy showers of rain during the day, and we could seldom get our mules out of a slow walk; for even those who were most successful, were obliged to stop for some of the party

lagging behind, hence the ride was toilsome and tiresome in the extreme.

One old Englishman of our party who was very stout, and, consequently, very heavy, was continually either throwing his unfortunate animal down or falling off himself, so that it was utterly impossible to get on with anything like speed; and to mend matters, towards the afternoon an irascible gentleman lost a bag from his saddle, containing, among other valuables, his letters of credit; and when, after a long search, the bag was found by a native (who was rewarded by a couple of dollars), the important papers were missing. This very nearly led to a "row," for pistols and bowie-knives were produced; but as the missing papers actually turned up afterwards, it was only another cause of delay. But after more or less interruption, we at last arrived at a hut called the "True-half-way-house," and it being then six o'clock, we were obliged to halt for the night, giving our mules in charge of two guides who had accompanied us.

Again we sat down to supper, tired, hungry and dirty; and again hard ham, bad eggs, and cranberries. The "*house*," as it was called, had been newly built, having for walls nothing but fir poles about three inches apart, and for a roof out-stretched canvas. The establishment comprised an Irishman, a Frenchman, and two Americans. There were several pigs, too, running about, and one fine turkey, but no other hut or habitation near. One of my companions, a German, caused much amusement by asking for a boot-jack, and

aspiring to have his muddy boots cleaned. Being tired and stiff from sitting all day in the saddle, I smoked my dear Havana and turned again into a bunk, where I soon fell asleep and became food for mosquitoes. I awoke at day-break, and arousing our landlord, who slept above me, and my German friend, who, after having bathed his body in a pie-dish of brandy, had reposed below me, we soon got ready for breakfast, and got breakfast ready for us. Oh! for the Gorgona pail of water and pianoforte! Alas, I was only allowed to dash a teacupful of water in my poor mosquito-bitten face, for water here was a luxury. As the coffee and tea were kept in saucepans on the fire during the night, we had not long to wait for our meal; again hard ham, hard biscuit, and by way of a change, onions and treacle! Having paid for this "accommodation" two and a half dollars (10*s.*) we started in search of our mules, which we had been compelled to pay for beforehand, and found to our dismay that the guides had made off with them during the night. Nothing then remained for it but to walk the rest of the distance to Panamá in about twelve miles of mud, and what was even less agreeable, carry those of our traps which we had brought with us.

It was about half-past six o'clock when we left the "True-half-way-house," which we afterwards learned was one mile nearer to Panamá than half-way from Gorgona. The road, although very rough and bad, was a vast improvement upon that we had traversed on the previous day; but the morning sun was ex-

tremely hot, and the heat of the whole day excessive. We took off our coats, rolled them into bundles, and strung them with our traps across our shoulders, and so marched on to Panamá, arriving there about one in the afternoon.

Never in my life had I been in such a mess! After a glorious wash I at once went to bed, sending the servant to purchase for me a clean ready-made suit from head to foot, for our luggage had not yet arrived. Nor did it arrive until two days after us. This delay in the arrival of one's luggage was, I learned, of frequent occurrence; and the people at the hotel told me, quite a matter of course, that I had better buy what I required for the present. It was more by good luck than anything else that I was enabled to do so, for I had spent in crossing all the loose cash I had set apart for the Isthmus transit, and my letters of credit were on Lima. Those who like myself were out of cash, and not so fortunate as to find friends at Panamá, remained in bed until their clothes were dry.

In those days the gold fever had reached even Panamá. Everybody tried to make money, and many indeed made fortunes. I remember finding at the hotel several American ladies, who occupied the time they were detained for their ship by making dresses for women and children coming from Colon, who were sure to arrive without their luggage. These dresses were easily sold for large sums.

I have said that the passenger crossing the Isthmus by railway will hardly be able to understand the diffi-

culties of the transit in the days of mules and the Chagres river. In 1851, Dr. Autenrieth, a resident at Panamá, published, in New York, a map of the Isthmus and a "Few Words to the Traveller," which then gave valuable information on the subject, and which even now may be interesting. I may be pardoned, therefore, for transcribing here a few of the doctor's quaint remarks.

"To form an idea of the country between Chagres and Panamá," says our author, "we must first impress upon the mind, that the great mountain chains of Mexico and Guatemala, as well as those of Peru and New Granada, disappear entirely even before they reach the Isthmus of Panamá and Darien. The mountains of fifteen thousand and twenty thousand feet dwindle down, with few exceptions, to elevations of from five hundred to one thousand feet; and these, moreover, do not form a continued chain or ridge of solid mass, but are rather isolated and independent of each other. An examination of the map will prove, that notwithstanding the great number of hills, no elevation of more than one hundred and fifty feet is found in the immediate neighbourhood of the river Chagres; but about one and a half miles to the north of Gorgona the "Cerro Jira," not five hundred feet high, is the first remarkable elevation; and that therefore no obstacle of consequence presents itself in reference to ascent and descent to the construction of a railroad. After crossing the Chagres river the country presents a different aspect; here suddenly the hills appear in

close proximity, joining above their bases, and producing valleys of different elevations above the level of the sea. The Cerro Grande, one thousand feet high, is prominent among the neighbouring mountains. . . .

"Crossing the Isthmus in the dry season is certainly a pleasant trip, if reasonable precautions are taken, and provisions for a few days are carried along; but any journey during the rainy season, from May until December, will certainly be full of hardship and danger so long as this complete want of conveniences and provisions shall exist. We hope the Railroad Company will succeed in their endeavours to reach Gorgona before the next rainy season, and if, moreover, as is contemplated, a good mule road is opened from Gorgona to the Cruces road, the crossing will be a deal easier, and an express might reach Panamá in twelve hours after leaving Navy Bay. The distance from Chagres to Panamá, in a straight line, is not fully thirty-eight miles, and yet I met a great many who were compelled to spend *seven* or *eight* days in crossing, being exposed to the heaviest rains, unable to obtain food or a comfortable place to lie down at night, or a spot where to dry their wet clothes.

"All who intend to cross the Isthmus ought to provide themselves with some provisions, such as good hams, smoked tongues or sausages, pickles, good coffee, and their accustomed drinks; a good blanket, if in the rainy season; a light india-rubber overcoat and leggings; also an umbrella. These should never be omitted. . . .

"If you have Indians for boatmen, I would advise you not to be too friendly, but at the same time to be careful not to insult them or act in an overbearing manner.

"I was told by boatmen of mine, that boats had frequently been upset, and passengers' lives endangered, in consequence of their overbearing and inhuman treatment of the Indians. Negroes and Griffs are in far worse repute than the full-blood Indians; they are regarded as lazier, more malicious, and dishonest; therefore deal with Indians in preference. . . .

"The Cruces road is shorter than the one at Gorgona by about two miles, but far worse to pass over. From Cruces to Cruz de Cardenas, the place where the two paths meet, is certainly the worst and most fatiguing road we ever travelled. There are no high mountains with abysses, which would present great obstacles to making a good road, if hands could be obtained to do the work. It seems that long before the Spaniards came to the country the rain had washed off, at certain places, the ground from the rock below, and particularly at such spots where, by the formation of the rock, a fissure was left. These places presented a solid foundation for the feet of oxen and horses during the rainy season, and were therefore selected for crossing, and by connecting the different gullies with each other, the so-called Cruces road was established.

"In consequence of the continued passing of mules, these gullies have deepened in some cases to a depth of about thirty feet, narrowing towards the bottom,

which at some places is not over two feet wide. That through such defiles only one mule after the other can pass, is easily understood; and if two parties meet, one is compelled to turn back. When this happens it is not always accomplished without difficulties. To avoid collisions, the "arrieros" (mule drivers) will give, before entering, whoops, which are immediately answered by the party inside. It is stated, that F. Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, ordered the paving of this road, which was done with large round stones, sometimes a foot and a half in diameter. Since Panamá sunk into insignificance this pavement has been entirely neglected, and is now completely broken; and the big stones are lying loose and in great disorder, where formerly there was a pavement.

"This is the principal cause of the abominable state of the road at this time. It is astonishing that the mules are capable of passing at all over these loose heaps of round stones, with a load on their backs.

"At the places where no pavement was needed the rock is often excavated by the shoes of the mules in such a manner that a series of holes, sometimes more than a foot deep, have been produced, leaving a ridge of the rock between each hole; these are the most dangerous places for passing; the mule has to proceed with great caution, or he will fall. Fortunately such spots do not occur very frequently. . . .

"Cruces was, in the time of the Spaniards, during the great transit from Portobello, a considerable place, but declined with the rest of the Isthmus. In

the year 1822, the greatest part of the place was consumed by fire, and lost its best buildings."*

From the foregoing it will be seen that the distance to be traversed, whether from Chagres to Panamá, or from Colon to Panamá, was, after all, trifling; but there appears to have been an utter want of provision for the requirements of the travellers, who, as I have said before, arrived by hundreds. The old road of the time of the Spaniards seems to have been allowed to fall into the most complete disorder, and to render difficulties more difficult. The mules were often insufficient in number to meet the demands of the passengers and their luggage, and when to be obtained they had frequently been overworked, and were unfit to make the trip. Provisions, as shown, were difficult to procure, and, when procured, very bad in quality, while the other absolute necessities, such as change of clothing and proper sleeping-places, after a day's exposure to a broiling sun and heavy rain, it was impossible to procure at any price. Was it any wonder, then, that people unaccustomed to such hardships fell victims to them, and that Panama became best known in those days as the seat of a malignant fever, often fatal to the European?

We have no record of the number of passengers who crossed the Isthmus before the opening of the railway, but during the first four years after it was opened there were no less than 121,820. I beg leave

* "A Few Words to the Traveller," by Dr. Autenreith, New York. Since the opening of the railway, Cruces has been literally abandoned.

to congratulate the 121,820 who crossed by railway, and all those since, who have not had to pass the Isthmus by other means.

In these earlier days of Isthmus travel, the now almost abandoned hotels of Panamá were quite insufficient to accommodate the hordes from the United States, who were attracted to California by the gold discoveries, although four or five beds were placed in each room, and often two persons in each bed. Lodgings were gladly taken in even the most miserable rooms, and with the most wretched accommodation, while passengers often encamped in the open streets and squares of the city. The old city was literally astounded by the influx of noisy Yankees who paraded the town, armed with bowie-knives and revolvers, which were from time to time made use of in the excitement caused by gambling and the liquor of the impromptu drinking-saloons. From these earlier emigrants, and from such men as accompanied Walker in Nicaragua, the South Americans derived their first knowledge of the American of the Northern States. The impression created was far from favourable. Emigrants who had no thought about the Isthmus but an impatient desire to get away from it, appeared to the Panameños like invaders, who were only waiting for an opportunity to seize the town, or who had already taken possession of it. "What do you want, gentlemen?" asked the British Consul of two men with revolvers in their belts, who stalked into his private office and began to inspect his books

and papers, to the astonishment of his native clerks, who could but make way for them. "Oh, nothing, stranger," was the reply; "I guess we would like to see a British Consul in his den." Such men were the "gentlemen" of the "crowd." "Are you the *man* who wants a gardener?" was a question put to a friend of mine by one of these passengers who was detained at Panamá, "because if you are, I think I knows a *gentleman* who would suit you."

In April, 1856, a *fracas* occurred between the natives and passengers, arising out of a dispute about some fruit, which has since been known as the "Panamá Massacre." The knives of the natives and the revolvers of the Yankees were alike called into play. The contempt of the Americans for the blacks of Panamá, and the dislike and fear of the natives of the Americans, but too readily kindled the spark into a flame. The bewildered governor ordered his ragged soldiers to fire upon the passengers, and several innocent lives were sacrificed and much property destroyed before this lamentable affair ended. This was but the explosion of antipathies and jealousies long pent up.

Among the temporary settlers on the Isthmus, who were attracted by the hope of making a rapid fortune out of the by-passers, were many Americans, who had earned titles in the war in Texas; almost every American was a colonel or captain. Funny stories are told of two brothers who set up an hotel in Panamá; one was a major, and the other a colonel.

A companion of mine went to the hotel upon one occasion to engage beds, and asked to see Mr. ———, the proprietor: "Which one do you want, sar?" inquired the negro servant. "Well, I don't know," my companion replied; "I merely want to engage beds for some passengers who are expected to-morrow." "Oh, then, it's the *major* you want," replied the servant; "the colonel attends to the bar—the major to the bedrooms."

CHAPTER X.

Panamá of the present day.—Houses at Panamá.—Last of the Nuns.—Convents at Panamá.—Chain-gang Beggars.—Population.—Men in Office.—New Granadian Revolutions.—Debility of Spanish America.—Bolivar's Congress.

THE stranger visiting Panamá, or attempting to relate anything about it, is naturally led to think of thé Panamá of days gone by. The first view of the present city, its grass-growing streets, decayed churches, and old comfortless houses, direct one's thoughts rather to the past than to the present; indeed, the place itself appears to the visitor but one solemn monument of departed glory; yet I am apt to think that this glory is, after all, greater in our imagination than it was, actually, in fact. But it is with the present city that we now shall have to do. It has been related in the preceding pages how the original Panamá was destroyed by Morgan in the year 1671. It was located about four miles to the eastward of the present town, and the site, now entirely deserted and overgrown by brushwood, is still clearly marked by the remains of a fine tower, and a few traces of other edifices. The tower in particular, may be clearly seen from the bay at almost all times, a solitary tomb in the still forest! This spot, the site of old Panamá, must however be one of the few

lions for the traveller. It may be easily visited in the dry season; but during the rainy months it is more difficult to get to it, even on horseback, on account of the bad state of the roads.

The present city, then, lies in lat. 8′ 56″, long. W. 79° 31′ 12″, and is situated at the head of the bay of Panamá. The town is built upon a rocky peninsula, stretching out into the bay; viewed from the Pacific, it has almost a noble and imposing appearance. The cathedral towers, and the remains of the former well built churches and convents stand out boldly above the original line of the fortifications, while several good modern houses appear to advantage in the view, the bold hills and wild scenery which form the background giving to the whole a very pretty effect. "Cerro Ancon," a noble hill standing some 540 feet high, to the west of the city, is conspicuous amongst these. The streets are for the most part of a fair width, regularly and well built, and with some regard to ventilation. The town was originally encircled by tolerable fortifications (the work of the Spaniards); these, however, during the last few years, have nearly all fallen to decay, and of late they have been removed to a great extent by the local authorities; the stones with which they were formed having been used for building purposes, or broken up for road repairing. Both very proper applications of proper material to the purpose, for Panamá of the present day, with its fifty bare-footed, half-fed soldiers, has certainly no need of the remains of fortifications upon which, if in

order, it has not a gun to mount; while by the removal of these old walls the ventilation of the town has been greatly improved, and consequently the place as a residence has become more healthy.

By these fortifications the city of Panamá was divided into two distinct parts; the *arrabal*, or part of the town beyond the walls, being almost as extensive and as thickly populated as the inner part; but the arrabal is now inhabited only by the blacks and coloured part of the population.

The Panamá houses are strange-looking edifices, and for the most part appear to have been built without much pretension to architectural design or convenience. The upper parts of most of the old residences were formed chiefly of wood, the windows left unglazed, and the wood work unpainted, while the upper story in the majority of houses is fronted by a heavy wooden balcony. These balconies, however, are all in all to the Panameños, serving at once, as they do, for garden, promenade, and reception-room, and often for many other purposes: one builds his bath on his balcony, another has the cooking done there; and from the appearances that many houses present, a stranger would think that the balconies were the general laundries and drying-grounds of the town.

But most of these old houses are in a dilapidated, almost ruinous-looking state, and it is no uncommon thing for children to fall from the cumbrous balconies to the street, often with narrow escapes of being

killed. It is really wonderful to observe the apathy of the Panameños on these matters, while householder and tenant alike, seem to have a natural dislike to repairs. At the beginning of the dry season a coat of whitewash to the dirty damp walls, and a little bright-green paint to the worm-eaten wood-work, is considered sufficient to meet all ends. The climate is, however, most destructive to household property. The builders, too, and carpenters, are indolent, and exorbitant in their charges, so that perhaps it is not after all remarkable that the evil day of "putting on the new tile" is delayed as long as it can be. But there are yet the remains at Panamá, of superior and substantial stone buildings, showing dwellings of a higher order. Many of these have court-yards and patios in the old Spanish style. As in many parts of France, and other continental towns, the upper stories only of the Panamá houses are used by the higher classes as residences, the lower portions serving for offices, stores, and shops. But the poorer classes, such as the mechanics and artizans employed in the city, inhabit these lower compartments of the larger houses, while the labouring people exist, rather than live, in the outskirts of the town, in dirty huts, shared with pigs and chickens, and altogether in a manner and style decidedly inferior to that to be found in many Indian villages. In this respect, as in many others, the people of Panamá seem to have profited in the lowest possible degree from their communication with the inhabitants of the more civilized world.

In July, 1864, a few of the inhabitants were unhoused by a fire which occurred in the principal street, and which, from the absence of means to subdue it, threatened to destroy the town. The following remarks were then made regarding the houses of Panamá:

"It seems strange that there should exist the greatest difficulty in procuring stores or residences in Panamá, when there are so many houses going to ruin that might be made habitable and profitable by a small outlay of capital. Although but two stores of any consequence were destroyed by the late fire, yet the occupants have the greatest difficulty in finding a place on the Main street large enough even for an office, and some of the unfortunate people who lived in the upper stories have suffered the greatest inconvenience in procuring temporary shelter. This is not owing to a lack of buildings, but entirely attributable to the miserable condition in which the majority of property-owners keep their houses. They are too poor or too penurious to spend a cent to put them in repair; but demand the highest rents for houses that are untenable, and expect the tenants to put them in order. Some of them are so exacting that they will give no lease, in hopes of being able, the moment a tenant has expended hundreds of dollars in making his residence comfortable, to turn him out and get higher rent for the improved property. This fact of itself frequently deters tenants from spending what they would otherwise do, knowing it is against their interest to do so. The very

few landlords in Panamá who have put their property in good order find no trouble in renting it out to good tenants at a high rent, whilst on the other hand those who keep their property in bad order have to take the worst class of tenants, and keep their houses empty half the time." *

The city of Panamá is lighted entirely by petroleum, which is now generally burned there, even in the houses and shops. It has quite superseded the use of either ordinary lamp-oil, or candles; and as doors and windows are seldom shut at Panamá, little or no annoyance is there experienced from the disagreeable smell by which this newly-discovered oil is attended in Europe.

The churches and public buildings appear to have been fairly designed and strongly built; but years of the greatest neglect, added to the deteriorating effects of the climate, have caused many of them to fall into decay. As in all Spanish America, however, the supply of religious edifices seems to have been greatly in excess of the demand, and Panamá forms no exception to the rule. Notwithstanding this, these churches, with one or two exceptions, are all in more or less occasional use, though no one of them is ever half filled. Originally there were eleven churches, four convents, and a nunnery, a cathedral, and a college. The college was established by the government of Old Columbia, under the superintendence of a rector, vice-rector, and assistant, with a revenue of 60,000 dollars per

* Panamá "Star and Herald," July 14, 1864.

annum. The cathedral, which is remarkable for nothing but its two fine towers and its hitherto incessant bells, remains to form part of, if not to ornament, the principal square which takes its name. Here, too, is also placed the "cabildo," or town-hall, in which the legislative and municipal assemblies hold their meetings. If the cathedral is remarkable for nothing, I am afraid this building, whether viewed from the inside or the outside, is remarkable for less. The other edifices named, having been long neglected, have of late been devoted to lay purposes, or remain "noble in their ruins," with the one exception of the convent of "La Concepcion," which is now, however, in a fair way to follow suit.* Here, until the 9th September, 1862, four old ladies and one younger one (the last of the Panamá nuns) remained, when they removed, or were virtually expelled by the decrees of the political authority of that day. One of the saddest sights I have ever witnessed, was the departure of these old ladies from their country and the home of their choice. Three of them were upwards of eighty years of age, and had spent the greater part of their innocent lives within the walls of the ancient convent; and all were respected and loved by the whole community of Panamá. There was certainly not a lady in the town, who could do so, who did not accompany them to the pier from which they took their departure, and shed a tear of sympathy at the last sad farewell. For of them it might truly be said that their calling

* This convent has lately been converted into an ice manufactory.

had been one of love. Devoting themselves with a sincere severity to the service of their religion, there was no good which they could do that was not eagerly done; indeed, many of the ladies of the Isthmus, many who are now happy parents and good wives, owe their first lessons in religion, and indeed in general education, to the old ladies who, to serve a political end, were so ruthlessly torn away from their home. What this political end was, it is hardly the place yet to relate. But to quote the remarks of the Panamá newspaper of the day, "We could not help thinking that the edict which ordained such unnecessary and barbarous cruelty upon those good old creatures, must some day revert with equal poignancy upon those who promulgated it."

I have said that every lady assisted at this sad farewell. There were many gentlemen besides, whose sympathy was as sincere; and no one, I believe, was more shocked by the melancholy scene than our own Bishop of Honolulu, who happened then to be at Panamá, on his way to the Sandwich Islands.

The poor old ladies happily found a home in one of the many convents of Lima, where it is probable they will end their days, and, as I said above, the Convent of "La Concepcion" is now in a fair way to become a ruin.

I may be pardoned for inserting here the following extract from a paragraph, which was recently contributed to the local newspaper on the subject of the Convents of Panamá:

* Panamá "Star and Herald."

"Of all the ancient buildings of Panamá, there is none that appeal so strongly to our feeling as that of the nunnery. The building with its church stands near the sea-gate and walls of the south side of the city. In its outward features it seems to have kept pace with the fall and decay of many churches and other public buildings which saw Panamá powerful and rich. Perhaps none of the institutions of the Church appeal more forcibly to the respect and imagination of the Protestant than that of the Nuns and Sisters of Charity. The mysterious seclusion of the one and the heroic benevolence of the other had both much of a certain moral sublimity of self-abnegation in pleasant contrast with the violence of the inquisition. The buildings themselves yet connect us by a sort of material link with the spirit of the middle ages. The spirit of this period is nowhere more distinctly perceived than in its public edifices, especially in its ecclesiastical ones. Those towers which lift their heads to heaven—those splendid cathedrals, with their thousands of pillars and pilasters, their 'long drawn aisles and fretted vaults,' their painted windows, their gorgeous ornaments, their massive buttresses, their magnificent spires, their countless statues and noble monuments, tell the tale of greatness and power. In that state of society the Church was the refuge of the weak against the strong, of the poor against the rich.

"With feelings tinged with such reflections, it was that we were induced to visit the Nunnery. The

street portal was open and the voices of children at school came forth from the interior of the cloisters. The entrance looked damp and gloomy, and a sad air of desolation seemed to reign supreme. In the garden many flowering shrubs and trees were in bloom; the passion-flowers and aristolochiæ had cast their seed; wild vines were climbing and creeping over everything, the most striking of which was a beautiful blue peaflower. Winding our way among a mass of entangled vegetation, we stood for a while and looked on the burial vaults of the dead nuns. Three, we were told, were there. A small head-piece of wood told us that 'Here was interred the Sister Maria Hipolita.' They, we thought, rest from their labours, while the Sisters who survived to watch over their graves, and keep green the flowers thereof, were no longer there, though not dead. Could they have foreseen that in a few years the Abbess and all the surviving Sisters would find it their duty to exile themselves—taking flight over the waters of the ocean they had so often and so long contemplated, only from their latticed windows—looking on the ships that came and went as things of a world with which they had no direct concern—they must have closed their eyes in grief, to have to be laid in forsaken graves. But let us hope that a better spirit will return to the States of Columbia, and that noble women will again be cherished for the lessons they give to human egotism and self-indulgence.

"We were witnesses, too, the day the five nuns, with

the ancient venerable abbess, left the walls within which the latter lived half a century, accompanied by sorrowing relatives and pious women, weeping like in the times of St. Paul, that they should behold their faces no more; yet does the establishment within look ruinous and sad. The bell-towers of the church were decaying. The spider and the white ant had made their nests on the belfry beams, while the creepers and wall-flowers were adorning the walls, and while adorning, destroying them. Besides the children's voices of the school, there was only the chirp of a little wren, and the melancholy coo of the turtle-dove, so leaving the recesses of the ruins, the groves of plaintain trees, and the abandoned flowers all breathing of the spirit of the dead and the absent."*

Having said thus much of the public buildings, I have only to add that the traveller who has a day or two to spend in the town, may find interesting occupation in visiting these ancient edifices in their ruins, the bare remains of former prosperity. Madame Ida Pfeiffer, who certainly has not written much of Panamá that may be quoted, is perhaps correct in saying that, "Among the ruins, the finest are those of the former college and church of St. Domingo, both of which would offer splendid subjects for a painter. They are not so entirely destroyed, but that many fine portions of the buildings, majestic cupolas, moulded ceilings, porticoes, &c., are still to be distinguished; and the most beautiful climbing plants have twined

* Article contributed to the Panamá "Star and Herald."

themselves round the fragments of the walls, and blossoms and flowers cover the pavement, and peep out of dilapidated doors and windows. The ruins of the church of St. Domingo are distinguished by an arch of peculiar construction, which attracts the attention of all connoisseurs, being so slightly curved that it scarcely rises three feet in a span of thirty."

I have said that the streets of Panamá were constructed with some regard to ventilation, which in such a climate as this is all-important. Panamá has not, however, the reputation of being a clean town, nor does it nearly deserve such a reputation, although a very great improvement has been made during the last year or two in this respect; but there is, unhappily, room for a great deal more to be done. The drainage and sewerage is very bad, and what there is, or was of it, is much neglected, while the habits of the lower classes are dirty in the extreme, hence much more energy and activity is necessary than has hitherto been displayed in carrying out the police regulations. These regulations in print appear to be exceedingly good and effective; but alas! for the working of them. Pigs and poultry are yet allowed to be kept, tied by the leg, at the door of the houses in the public thoroughfares. The frying of fish, and other cooking in the streets, with its disagreeable odours, still annoys, *at least*, the foreign inhabitants, while the bad smells which, at certain periods of the evening in particular, infest the air, are a disgrace to the local authorities, if not to the whole population. We must presume that

many of the natives really like all this; for there is no other reason why it should be so. The chain-gang, that is to say, the body of unfortunate men who are paying the penalty of their crimes, with irons and chains to their legs, have, however, been usefully employed, periodically, of late, in cleaning the most frequented streets, but it would be an everlasting broom that was equal to the emergency. Almost more miserable and degraded-looking than the chain-gangs, appear the wretched police, who guard them during their labours. When I first visited Panamá, this was one of the scenes which most impressed me; for in those days soldiers and criminals alike begged alms from the passer-by. There is a slight improvement now as regards this begging; but the whole system of almsgiving there is a peculiar one. A real beggar is now seldom seen in the streets on any day of the week except Saturday, when they all turn out and surround the houses of their constituents. Alms are then given by the charitable to these most wretched-looking people, who announce their arrival at each house by exclaiming energetically, "Ave Maria purisima!" If you are in the habit of giving to each recipient a dime or a five-cent piece, and do not happen to have change, your protegé will provide you with it, quite as a matter of course, if he or she happens to have it. This system has certain advantages over that of being asked for alms at all times and in all places, as at home, but I am inclined to think it leads idlers to take up as a trade a mode of life which,

if not lucrative in Panamá, at least furnishes the wherewithal to live without work. The sight of these wretched beggars, too, as they lounge about one's doorway in groups, is a severe penalty to the almsgiver.

In 1863, in accordance with a law passed on the 20th January of that year, the census of the State, which had not been taken since 1856, was again supposed to be taken. By this the population of the State was made to be over 180,000, but little birds whisper that this was so made, not by the usual means of babies coming into the world, but at the instigation of the President of the State, who wished to be sent to Bogotá as an additional deputy to Congress, and who, in fact, was so sent. There is no reason to suppose that the population has much increased within the last eight years, considering that a revolutionary army has had to be furnished during a great part of this period, while the advantage gained by a multiplicity of births in and out of wedlock, is counteracted by a corresponding mortality amongst children. A writer on this subject says:

"It is painful to witness the number of interments which are constantly occurring, in spite of the general salubrity of the place;" and goes on to say that "before the ecclesiastics had withdrawn from the diocese, and closed the churches to the performance of funeral rites, the hundred bells of the sacred edifice were perpetually announcing the departure of some infant soul; and flowers and music made a festival of

death. Though the chimes of the church bells are no longer heard, the grave still receives in its embrace numbers of infantile forms.

"The poor are, many of them, too incompetent to perform the duties of parents, and many indiscreet mothers have not the means to sustain the lives of their infants, and much less to provide against sickness. The impunity with which men are allowed to abandon their offspring to the indigent care of destitute mothers, is striking. . . .

"There appears, also, to be no working system of registering births and deaths. Many infants, and indeed many adults, die under suspicious circumstances, with no attempt on the part of the Government to recognise the fact, or inquire into the mystery with which the deaths are too often surrounded."*

All these circumstances, which are but too true, lead one to conclude that the population has not much increased of late years, and in this opinion I am confirmed by personal inquiries from intelligent residents on the Isthmus, by whom it is estimated at about 150,000. The population of the Province of Panamá, while under the domination of Spain, in the year 1808, was 57,000. To this must be added, for a comparison with the population of the present State, that of Veraguas, which was 34,000, showing a total of 91,000. The population of the department of the Isthmus, in the year 1824, according to the census

* Panamá "Mercantile Chronicle," March, 1864.

then taken, was 101,555; but in all these calculations it has been impossible to estimate correctly the actual number of the Darien Indians.

The population of the town is estimated at from 10,000 to 12,000, though probably there are not actually more than 8,000 inhabitants. These good citizens celebrate annually, on the 28th November, the anniversary of their independence from the dominion of the Spaniards. Whether the Panameños, with all the liberty of their constitution as a sovereign state, are as free as they think themselves, and whether they have so much, after all, to be grateful for, is a grave question, which we may discuss hereafter; but if it were permitted to the departed spirit of the great Bolivar, to revisit the country he fought for and made free, and see the present standing of New Granada, he, at least, would have much to weep for. The following paragraph from a local newspaper, shows how Panamá celebrated the independence in 1864, and will prepare the traveller for what may be met with, should he happen to visit the Isthmus during the month of November:

"The Government has granted license for the celebration of the 28th, 29th, and 30th instant, by horseracing, masquerading, and bull-baiting, in commemoration of the independence of the Isthmus of Panamá. The Government has also appropriated 200 dollars to add to the gaieties of the festive occasion, and Don Manuel Barsallo has been appointed to superintend the preparations which

are now being made to celebrate the welcomed days."*

With the exception of the foreigners who are few, very few, considering that so much of the commerce is foreign, and with the exception also of the small proportion of pure descendants of the original Spaniards, the population consists of mixtures in greater or less degrees of the Spanish, Indian, and negro races; and as the old families of Spanish blood, "pur sang," naturally decrease every year, so the mixed races increase. At the moment I write, too, the mixed races are politically in the ascendant. The public offices are almost all filled by coloured or black men, who, as a rule, are of the "Liberal" party in politics, while those who would seem best calculated to hold such offices by their intellect and education, are resting on their oars, and occasionally paying forced loans. To a disinterested observer, it would appear to be the object of the party in power to render itself as obnoxious as possible to the party out of power. I remember in 1864 that the son of the previous governor had been pressed for a soldier by some Jack in office, and before the young gentleman's friends had time to interfere, he had been put through military facings, and his hair had been cut by the military barber, in an ultra military style. The poor youth, indeed, looked like an escaped convict when he was allowed to return to the bosom of his family. In this manner, is ill-will and bad feeling unnecessarily created, and such little debts as these

* "Mercantile Chronicle," Nov. 21, 1864.

are hoarded up to be paid off with interest, when the party out of office has its innings. This act was committed under an article of the constitution which obliges each State to contribute to the public force of the Union, by calling into service such citizens as may be so called in conformity with the laws of the State; and it serves to show how the laws are carried out. But it is now the turn of the "Liberals;" and, indeed, it almost seems that no impediment can—in this community which boasts of its liberty and independence—affect persons holding office, or rather that no defect, physical or moral, is an impediment to the appointment to office. This state of things, I should think, is almost peculiar to Panamá, if not, I hardly believe it exists to so great an extent in the most unenlightened of the Spanish American States as it now does there. The present authorities, however, were raised to their posts on the backs of the black population, and great things cannot be expected from such a source. I would fain say a few words on New Granada's last revolution, but I should hardly hope to make my readers understand it. We may understand why the king of Naples lost his power, and why Otho, king of Greece, lost his, as we are able to form an opinion on European revolutions in general. Most of us also now think we understand the great American revolution, and with the help of our own writers, I dare say, we do understand more about that than we did at its commencement. Some of us, too, have endeavoured to master the once intricate Mexican question, though

perhaps here our success was not very great. The majority of us, I think, were lost in the labyrinth of the church party and the monarchial party, the Conservatives and the Liberals, and the English and Spanish intervention which did not go on, and the French intervention which did go on all alone. But I do not know whether those who are equal to Mexican complications have been able to fathom the mystery of the revolution by which New Granada was lately devouring herself; in which fathers were fighting against sons; brothers, and sisters too, against brothers and sisters,* and uncles against their nephews, even to death; all, apparently for the same principles, and all, after all, it really appears, for absolutely nothing. But the recklessness with which the Spanish American States have, with one or two exceptions, continued to keep down their own prosperity by the mania for revolution, is patent to the whole world; so patent, indeed, that the whole world has almost ceased to become interested in the matter.

Gibbon says of Spain:—"That country flourished as a province, and has declined as a kingdom." It might almost be said, I fear, of New Granada, that she flourished as a colony of Spain, and declined as an independent State. But the history of almost all Spanish America tells the same tale: with one or two exceptions only, these countries have been signally wanting, since their independence was attained, in that

* The ladies of New Granada, although they do not go into the battle-field, take an active part in politics, and "fight for their cause," as only ladies can fight.

discipline, energy, and uprightness, necessary for self-government. A friend of mine from the interior of New Granada, once said to me, "We can have no hope of becoming a respectable people until we have *no authorities* whatever. We are quiet enough in the interior, if they would only let us alone. It is the authorities, and those who would be authorities, who make all our revolutions, who seize the men from estates for soldiers, and take our money to pay them with, and our cattle to feed them upon. This, not to govern us better, or to maintain principles we or they care for; but to attain to power, to the feathering of their own nests; and this is all and always done under the mask of patriotism!" When will the unhappy politicians of Spanish America realize and be guided by the sentiments so ably described by Mr. Canning in 1799:—"That there never was, nor will be, nor can be, a leader of a mob faction, who does not mean to be the lord, and not the servant of the people."

The "Revue des deux Mondes," in a recent article on these countries, well says that "One only need go through America to make the strangest journey possible, through all the possible varieties of anarchy."

It is a sad state of things, when a man becomes so reckless that his fellow-men cease to take interest in him, and merely take such precautions as are necessary to prevent him doing them harm; and it is a very sad state of things when this feeling, or absence of feeling, is brought about between old nations and young. Probably, no colonies ever obtained their independence

under more favourable auspices than did those of Spain in America but a few years ago; and yet to-day these prodigal sons, with Mexico at their head, are almost looked upon as past reclaiming; and what golden opportunities they have had, and yet have, for becoming respectable and respected people!

On a recent occasion, a South American journalist asked, "In what originates the contempt with which European powers treat South America?" and answers, in the debility of South America itself. "And whence, he asked, whence arises this debility?" In the want of union and harmony, in the disunion and separation in which these Republics strive to exist, as if the governments of countries which have an absolute community of history, origin, formation, tendencies, and necessities, were enemies.

The same writer says, with much truth, that these governments are satisfied with the nominal title of independence, and with being allowed to enjoy a certain puerile vanity. Thus, for instance, Peru boasts of being more powerful than Ecuador, Chili boasts of following an independent line of conduct, and of separating herself from the cause of Spanish America. Bolivia takes pleasure in shutting herself up in her frontiers, and making a sort of American Japan; and the Republics of Central America, not content with having divided and sub-divided themselves into almost homœopathic factions, appear to aspire to annihilate each other, like the soldiers of Cadmus."*

* "El Continental," July 27, 1863.

How different is all this to the policy of the great soldier of South American independence. When the Spanish American provinces succeeded in throwing off the allegiance to Spain, and in establishing an independent government for themselves, it appeared to the most patriotic and forecasting of their statesmen, to be of the utmost importance that they should all become banded together by some compact or league, whereby they could act together for their common security and advancement. For five or six years the great liberator, General Bolivar, and others, laboured with earnestness and care to bring about such an alliance as would enable them to defend their newly gained independence against all the power of Spain or other enemies. After several treaties had been framed between individual States, looking to the consummation of a general compact, at length, in 1825, a congress or conference of the States was appointed to be held at Panamá in the following year.

The French intervention in Mexico, and, subsequently, the Spanish quarrel with Peru, led the South American States in 1864 to project a revival of the congress, to be held this time at Lima, the capital of Peru, and this new congress actually met in the latter end of that year.

We have yet to see, however, whether this new congress of the South American States tends to bring about a warmer alliance between them, and whether it be more successful than that congress which was inaugurated by Bolivar in 1826. The congress of Bolivar

only held its first session at Panamá; but owing to the sickliness of the place, it was adjourned to Tacubaya in Mexico, and never led to any practical result. Bolivar, as President of the Republic of Colombia, in 1823 invited Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres, to send delegates to Panamá or some other suitable place, "to treat on matters of general interest to the republics." Mexico and Peru accepted the proposition, but Chili and Buenos Ayres showed reserve. In December 1824, Bolivar sent another circular note, and, in June 1826, delegates from Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and Central America, assembled at Panamá. The republics of Buenos Ayres and Chili continued to hold back, apprehending, as it was unjustly said, that the aim of Bolivar was to incorporate the republics into a grand empire, of which he was to be the ruler. To this congress the United States was invited. President Adams replied, "that the powers and objects of such a meeting ought first to be definitely settled, and when that was done, if there appeared any objects in which the United States had an interest, he would readily accede." In answer to President Adams's letter, the objects of the congress were defined to be, "To form a permanent council as a bond of union against common danger from abroad; to preserve internal peace among the several States; to interpret treaties between the States, and to regulate foreign commerce." To the second invitation the President acceded, "restricting the delegation to act only in a diplomatic character; not to become members of the

congress, nor to take any part in their internal concerns, other than to give advice and information when requested." The congress met, and after forming one treaty, and three others conditional upon it, adjourned, to convene in the following February at Tacubaya, a village a league distant from Mexico, or in any other place in the Mexican territory. Of the three United States delegates appointed by Mr. Adams, one died, and the other two reached Panamá after the adjournment. The meeting at Tacubaya never took place, but at Panamá the treaty of union and perpetual confederation which was drawn up was ratified by Bolivar for Colombia. The ratification of the other States was to take place in Mexico.

Mr Adams thus spoke of this congress in his first message to the United States Congress in December 1825:

"Among the measures which have been suggested to them (the Spanish-American Republics) by the new relations with one another, resulting from the recent changes in their condition, is that of assembling, at the Isthmus of Panama, a congress at which each of them should be represented, to deliberate upon objects important to the welfare of all. The Republics of Colombia, of Mexico, and of Central America, have already deputed plenipotentiaries to such a meeting, and they have invited the United States to be also represented there by their ministers. The invitation has been accepted, and ministers on the part of the United States will be commissioned to attend at these

deliberations, and to take part in them, so far as may be compatible with that neutrality from which it is neither our intention, nor the desire of the other American States, that we should depart."

An English commissioner was also sent out to this congress, and in the little British burial-ground at Panamá may be seen the tombs of his secretaries, who, shortly after their arrival, fell victims to the climate. They were the first English Protestants who were interred according to the rites of the Protestant religion in the then Roman Catholic province of the Isthmus. A piece of ground was generously set apart by the government of the province for their interment, and in this grant originated the present British Protestant burial-ground at Panamá. The sessions of the congress lasted from the 22nd June to the 15th July.*

The British commissioner, Mr. Dawkins, returned to England from Panamá. Restrepo, the historian of Colombia, says his conduct was noble and frank; that he limited himself to advising the plenipotentiaries of the new republics to show respect and consideration for the institutions of other countries; to disprove the suspicions which might exist in Europe that republican America pretended to establish a political system opposed to that of Europe. He urged with much force, that the assembly should give proofs of its love of peace, and of its desire to make some pecuniary sacrifice in order to obtain it. He assured the assembly that Great Britain would charge herself

* Restrepo's "Historia de Colombia."

with the mediation with Spain, and that a happy result might be expected from her good offices, if the basis of the negotiation was the concession of a pecuniary indemnification. Without this France would not co-operate.

The assembly, however, separated without taking any step towards obtaining peace with Spain.*

* Restrepo's "Historia de Colombia."

CHAPTER XI.

Contemplated Transfer of the Capital.— Elections.— Police.— Revolution of 1861-62.—American Intervention.—Neutrality of the Isthmus.— Lawyers.

In the year 1831 a revolution was made in the State of Panamá with the view to a separation from the republic. Again, in the year 1840, the Isthmus of Panamá temporarily declared itself independent, remaining separated from the republic for two months; and at occasional intervals since that period, and as lately as the year 1862, the politicians of the state have been blowing hot and cold on this same subject of independence. Perhaps it may come to this after all, although I very much question whether the Federal Government, be it of which party it may— "Conservative" or "Liberal"—would ever stand this secession. Panamá is much too important a position for the general government to give up. But, certainly, if by any political machinery it could be manipulated into a respectable and properly governed little State, the outside world would be the gainer. It does not so much matter to Europeans and Americans, save and except the unhappy bond-holders, if the politicians of the interior of New Granada find amusement,

from time to time, in raising mock armies, with a generalissimo to command every twenty-five men. Although we are all very sorry to see this, desiring, as we do, to see our young friends prosper and at peace; but it does, I take it, affect seriously European and American interests when the farces called civil wars are performed on such ground as the Isthmus of Panamá, to the impediment of the legitimate business of the whole commercial world.

On the subject of the recently proposed removal of the national capital from Bogotá to Panamá, "The Money Market Review" for May, 1863, contained the following paragraph:—

"The important news has arrived of the approaching change of the seat of government from Bogotá to Panamá—a measure likely to exercise a very important and satisfactory influence on the future destinies of New Granada. Panamá is already the centre depôt of a vast trade between the ports on the South Pacific and Europe, although still in its infancy, capable of an extension whenever a canal is made, as really defies description. That that great work will be executed sooner or later we confidently believe; and it will certainly be more satisfactory to have the Government of New Granada within twenty days' communication from England and France, instead of six weeks, as at present. It is not too much to say that a nation possessing such geographical positions as Panamá—situated as it is on an isthmus of high importance to the world—cannot fail to rise and prosper."

I agree with the writer of the article, that the political position of Panamá would be much improved by its being made the capital of the republic, but I doubt very much whether the Bogotá people would ever stand it. Had General Mosquera carried out his plan of an union of Ecuador and Venezuela with the new Colombia, Panamá would, doubtless, have been the proper situation for the capital, from the greater facility for communication. But his scheme is not likely to be carried into effect; it is even said that the Emperor of the French, who appears to have taken Ecuador specially under his protection, would not consent to this republic joining in such an union. It is not at all likely, therefore, that Panamá will become the seat of the Colombian Government, as was at one time thought probable; nor is it, I think, more probable that the often talked of canal will now be ever made. As matters now, however, stand, the State of Panamá, according to the constitution, is sovereign, and does not depend upon the general government, except in certain matters which have been delegated to it. This is the theory, but in practice it appears to me that the States in general, and Panamá in particular, are very much under the control and authority of the general government.

In saying that the authorities of the States are to a certain degree under the control of the authorities of the Union, I must also say that it is perhaps well for the credit of the country, and well for the foreigners residing in the country, that it is so, and this in

Panamá particularly, where the State authorities become occasionally mighty men.

On a recent occasion, when the Spanish commissioner was insulted at the residence of the French consul at Panamá, the President of the Union soundly rated the President of the State for his proceeding in the matter. It is well that there should be some check, however rarely available, on the arrogance and airs of these petty authorities, who sometimes almost fancy themselves, not only the representatives and great powers of a great nation, but almost great princes. One President a short time ago complained of the want of courtesy of the French and English consuls, in presuming to visit him on official business without previously demanding an audience; and with characteristic and amusing insolence he asked, "Whether Napoleon III., or even his minister, would receive the representative of Colombia without such formality!"

The Constitution of the Republic (as well as that of the State of Panamá), professes to guarantee to all who come to the country the free expression of opinion in print, freedom of conscience in religion, liberty of industry, inviolability of life and property, individual security, inviolability of domicile, and of epistolary correspondence, legal equality, personal liberty, liberty of association, and the right of petition; and foreigners accused of criminal offences are tried by juries, of which three of the members are foreigners.

This is certainly a Constitution liberal enough to

meet all the requirements of society, even in this advanced age; but, as will be seen on perusing the Constitution at length, the executive authorities have great powers of suspension in times of political troubles; and as New Granada is one of those countries most subject to the fever of revolutions, these powers of the executive are often put in force, when the constitution becomes almost a dead letter.

Each State sends plenipotentiaries to the Senate and Chamber in accordance with its population, at the rate of one for every 50,000 inhabitants, and one more for a residue of not less than 20,000; and so the president of the union is elected, or supposed to be elected, by the votes of the several states, each one having a vote. Panamá, in common with the other States, has a local house of assembly, a governor, now called citizen-president, two secretaries of state, a prefect, alcalde, and a host of minor officials. There are also a captain of the port and a postmaster-general who are agents of the general government, but under the State authority. For the administration of law and justice there are inferior and superior courts and a commercial tribunal.

The President of the State is presumed to be elected by ballot, and by votes taken throughout the whole State, as are also the members of the Legislative Assembly. Every male person of full age, priests and foreigners only excepted, is supposed to have a vote, and to exercise it at these elections; even persons under age, who have been married or have obtained

a licence to manage their own affairs, are entitled to vote. When it is remembered, however, that a very small proportion of the free and independent electors are capable either of reading or writing, and that the majority of them have absolutely nothing at stake in the country, it may easily be understood that great abuses take place at these elections. The unfortunate voters, if they vote at all, and do not vote two or three times over, are at best but the tools of a party, and are morally driven like sheep to the poll. This was the state of things under the old constitution, and it certainly does not appear to be much improved under the new, for we find the following notice of the most recent elections:

"On Sunday, the 5th June, 1864, the elections for the president took place in the State. In this city, thanks to the co-operation exercised by Señor Buenaventura Correoso (who, we know not with what legal authority, was exercising the executive power), by the prefect, by the troops, and by the police, Señor Santacoloma obtained nearly 300 votes. Some of the soldiers voted four or five times."*

Nor does the abuse end here. Many districts return votes for actually twice or three times the number of electors contained therein. So much for universal suffrage in such a country as New Granada, or rather Colombia.

The President, when duly elected, should serve for two years, and is not eligible for re-election until

* Panamá "Star and Herald," June 7, 1864.

after the expiration of one constitutional period. He immediately appoints his secretaries of state, prefect, and subordinate officers, and proceeds to rapidly work in the issuing of decrees, in which the Panamá authorities appear to love best to show their abilities. The carrying out efficiently and properly of the decrees when given forth seems to be quite another affair, and very often to concern no one. The best of the authorities in this respect "yield to circumstances." England, France, the United States, and most of the South American republics have consuls residing at Panamá, and there are ministers from these countries accredited to the capital; but as it takes nearly as long to communicate with Bogotá, under the most favourable circumstances, at certain times, as it does to communicate with Europe, political matters of immediate interest often fall to the work of the consuls. The first British consul was sent to Panamá in February, 1824, a commissioner having been previously sent to the capital, Bogotá. Señor Hurtado, the first minister from Colombia, was received by the King, George IV., November 21, 1825.

Half a regiment of artillery and two companies of infantry appeared, by the old provision of the supreme government, to be destined for the garrison of Panamá, but this for some time past has declined to about fifty barefooted, badly-clothed, and worse fed recruits, whose presence, for all the good they do, or could do, might very judiciously be dispensed with. A proper and efficient police force of honest men, well found

and fed, who would do police work, and keep the dirty water from the balconies off one's head, would not be more expensive or more difficult to maintain, and it would be all that is necessary for Panamá. But this unhappily there is not. The police is a sort of "gendarmerie," badly officered, armed, and paid, and singularly wanting in a knowledge of the first elements of their duty. Indeed, so little real sense of government protection is experienced for property on the Isthmus, that on more than one occasion the foreigners have organised and kept up guards at their own expense, while for some years past a city night-watch has been established and maintained by private subscription amongst the houses of business. All the steam-packet companies, and the railroad company, also subscribe largely towards the maintenance of the police, &c., of Panamá. All that is required, therefore, is a proper application of the money.

"Robberies are rare enough, and, when they do occur, are seldom brought home to the natives. However, the police are scarcely ever able to trace out robberies; and I only wonder, so encouraged, they are not commoner."*

The Panameños pilfer rather than steal. They will take a fat turkey or chicken from your yard, or an article of linen from the washerwoman, but they rarely attempt a great robbery. If house or store is broken into at Panamá, the act is committed in almost every case by foreigners. This is in the time

* "Panamá as a Home," in "All the Year Round," May 9, 1863.

of peace, when all things go smoothly. But in the times of political troubles the presence of a foreign ship of war in port is hailed alike by foreigners and natives as "a blessing and protection to those who do well, and a caution to evil doers." The English have almost always a man-of-war here; the French have one occasionally, and the Americans generally. At the time I wrote this there were nine men-of-war there, as the French had mustered in great force, and were taking in stores and provisions previously to the departure for the Mexican coast. There was an American admiral, too, the first American *admiral* that had been at Panamá since the Americans have adopted this sensible title for their chief naval officers. Before, they were called flag-officers, a hard sounding, and, to other nations, an almost incomprehensible title; certainly not so seamanlike a term as its predecessor, "commodore." My ear has become accustomed to a great many Americanisms, but it could never get quite accustomed to "Good morning, flag-officer. How's your health, sir?" "This railroad is a great institution, sir," said an American naval officer to one of ours, to whom he was showing the lions of Panamá, —"this railroad is a great institution, sir, but Panamá is the meanest place for drinks you will find on the station." Now my ear *has* become quite accustomed to this mode of expression. I may freely, too, in parenthesis, add here my testimony in favour of the railroad as an institution, and against the *drinks*, *i.e.*, the liquors sold on the Isthmus.

But to keep to Panamá. The last political change took place in this wise. The legitimate governor, who had been duly elected in the manner before described, and who had held his office almost peaceably for nearly his two years, found himself one fine day visited by about 150 soldiers from Carthagena, the capital of a friendly state in the hands of the Liberal party; for it must be remembered that New Granada's last revolution, which in its little way was as devastating as that of Mexico, was a struggle between two factions calling themselves "Liberals" and "Conservatives." The governor then had been the "Conservative" candidate, when the "Conservatives" were in power throughout the country. The Liberals had, however, been latterly gaining ground, and had gained some of the states, and the soldiers were apparently sent by the "Liberal" party to *assist* the governor in carrying out certain decrees of that faction which he had resisted, and which, as the supreme authority in his own State he had unquestionably the right to resist. On the arrival of the soldiers at Colon, the governor protested both against the obnoxious decrees, and against the coming of the soldiers, as contrary to a treaty which he had made with an agent of the "Liberal" party, and by which treaty he had hoped to keep Panamá out of the revolution; but it was all in vain. The soldiers declared they would come whether or no; and as the governor had no force to resist them, he here judged prudence to be the better part of valour, and so gave his sanction for their crossing

from Colon by railway; and on they came, pretending then, as they had at first pretended, to be *entirely under* the *governor's authority!* Matters went on thus quietly for a few weeks. The poor governor, however, soon found that he had become simply a tool in the hands of Captain Sword, so, in accordance with a law which had been previously made for an emergency, he removed the capital, himself, and his secretary to Santiago de Veraguas, a town some three days distant in the interior of the state, leaving his unwelcome troops behind him to do battle with the prefect. Then about eighty individuals, all of whom with but one exception were of the black population, assembled in the town-hall, deposed the absent governor, and elected in his stead one of their own party, under the title of provisional governor. The two for a short time then reigned together, and shied decrees at each other—the one at Santiago, the other in Panamá. But the provisional governor, having the soldiers to back him, soon found himself strong enough to arm and send a force into the interior to annihilate the legitimists, and here their chief, the first poor governor, paid the penalty of office and was cruelly shot in a mock field of battle, in which battle it appeared that he and one or two other persons were the only victims. The whole affair would have been a farce but for this tragical ending. But he whose life was so unnecessarily sacrificed was an intelligent, well-meaning, though perhaps weak young man, who had unfortunately had politics forced upon him. He

was of one of the best and most respected families on the Isthmus, and he left a young widow and three small children to deplore his loss. He had during his reign steadily endeavoured to develop the resources, agricultural and commercial, of his country. With his death died his political party in the State; the blacks reigned supreme; the obnoxious decrees were put in force; the poor old nuns were turned out of their convent, and afterwards their bishop left, or was banished. Forced loans were exacted from the "Conservatives," and poor Panamá, in consequence of it all, goes down the political ladder some steps lower. This short relation of the facts, undisguised by the grandiloquent language of the despatches of the time, may give some idea of how "conservative" Panamá became "liberal" in the year 1862. Her Majesty's consul at Panamá, in his report dated July 31st, 1862, which was presented to parliament, mildly says, "No improvement can be noted in the social, industrial, commercial, or political condition of the Isthmus. It has now become involved in the civil war going on in the interior of the republic, which will no doubt retard its development and prosperity."* The evil effects which the repeated revolutions have upon these small States may be easily imagined. Men who are continually called upon to serve as soldiers are hardly likely to become industrious or useful citizens. The new constitution provides that each State

* "Commercial Reports received at the Foreign Office from Her Majesty's Consuls."

shall furnish one per cent. of its population towards the national army in time of war; and time of war is but too often a time of civil war and of revolution.

New Granada at the present time can hardly be said to possess a navy, in the smallest possible conception of the term. In the time of war or revolution a few small vessels have been armed and manned by each of the contending factions; but these vessels, if not lost in the hands of the extemporised commanders and sailors, have immediately fallen into disuse on the restoration of peace. The coasting trade, which is insignificant, is open to all nations; and the New Granadian flag is hardly ever seen, even in the Bay of Panamá.

The Government of the United States of America appear to have been inclined to take an unusually active part in the revolution which I have described. It is probable, however, that cold water was thrown by England and France on Mr. Seward's views. His appeal to those countries for co-operation is, however, hardly in accordance with the Munroe doctrine.

In the volume of diplomatic correspondence presented to Congress, a letter from Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams appears, from which the following is extracted. It is dated July 11, 1862:

"On the 26th of June last, Mr. P. A. Herran, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Granadian Confederation, near the Government of the United States, transmitted to this department a note, of which a translation is here annexed, marked H.

"In this note, Mr. Herran gave information that Mosquera, a revolutionary chief, who is engaged in subverting the Granadian Confederation, had sent an armed force to occupy the Isthmus of Panamá, which proceeding was opposed by an unavailing protest of the Governor of Panamá, and Mr. Herran therefore invoked the interposition of this Government, in accordance with the treaty obligation above set forth.

"Simultaneously with the reception of this note of Mr. Herran's, substantially the same information which it gave was received from our consul residing at Panamá; and the President therefore instructed our naval commander of that port to take care to protect and guarantee, at all hazards and at whatever cost, the safety of the railroad transit across the Isthmus of Panamá. Mr. Herran now insists that, owing to the character of the population on the Isthmus and the revolutionary condition of that region, the security of the transit cannot be adequately insured by the presence and activity of a mere naval force, and the Granadian Confederation is entitled, therefore, to the special aid of a land force to be sent from the United States, and suggests that it should be made to consist of three hundred cavalry.

"This Government has no interest in the matter different from that of other maritime powers. It is willing to interpose its aid in execution of its treaty and for the benefit of all nations. But if it should do so, it would incur some hazard of becoming involved

in the revolutionary strife which is going on in that country. It would also incur danger of misrepresentation of its objects by other maritime powers, if it should act without previous consultation with them. The revolutionary disturbances existing in that quarter are doubtlessly as well known and understood by the Governments of Great Britain and France as they are by this Government, and they are probably also well informed of the proceeding of Mosquera, which has moved Mr. Herran's application to the President. He desires an understanding with those two Governments upon the subject, and you are therefore instructed to submit the matter to Earl Russell, as Mr. Dayton will likewise be instructed to confer with M. Thouvenel." *

Again, too, according to the "New York Herald," the Government of the United States felt called upon to interfere and aid the Colombian Government in carrying out the wishes of Peru, by preventing Spain from transporting troops across the Isthmus of Panamá. This was, indeed, giving a free interpretation to the treaty of June 1848 between the United States and New Granada, by which the neutrality of the Isthmus was guaranteed, together with the absolute sovereignty of New Granada over the territory named.

When the French intervention in Mexico first commenced, the legislative assembly of Panamá petitioned the general Government of Colombia not to allow French troops to pass over the Isthmus; but the idea

* Quoted in Panamá "Star and Herald."

of calling upon the Americans to assist in carrying out this policy was not then contemplated.

A curious sequel to all this occurred in the autumn of 1864. A number of French marines and sailors arrived at Colon to replace invalids from the French vessels of war which had been stationed on the Mexican coast, and otherwise employed in the Pacific. The President of the State of Panamá, full of the neutrality of the Isthmus, and indignant at the Emperor's proceedings in Mexico, ordered the authorities at Colon not to allow the French sailors to pass over to Panamá, and he requested at the same time the railway company's agents not to give them passage. The French officers, naturally enough, urged that English and American troops had on several occasions crossed the Isthmus by hundreds; and this argument was curiously illustrated by a number of American soldiers arriving at the very time of the discussion, and at once crossing over to their ship in the Pacific, in accordance with a permission, which, it was said, had been previously granted by a former president of the State. Upon this, the French acted upon the "most favoured nation" clause of the treaty, and passed over too. We did not see the Americans called upon to impede their progress!

Again, only a month later, this question of neutrality was revived. A number of Americans of Confederate tendencies, were discovered in a plot to seize one of the railroad company's steamers and convert her into a Confederate cruiser. These men (seven in number) were made prisoners on board the vessel they

intended to seize, and were carried on board the flag-ship of the American Admiral, then at Panamá. This was on the 10th of November.

"On the 12th, Rear-Admiral George F. Pearson, commander of the United States Pacific Squadron; Captain Davenport and Paymaster Rittenhouse, of the United States frigate 'Lancaster;' William Nelson, Esq., commercial agent of the Panamá Railroad Company; Colonel Alex. M'Kee, United States Consul at Panamá; and F. W. Rice, Esq., Consul at Aspinwall, called on the President of this State to ask permission to pass the seven prisoners, now on board the 'Lancaster' in this bay, across the Isthmus, in order to send them to New York by the next steamer from Aspinwall. The permission asked for has been refused by the President, on the ground that he is not empowered to grant it." *

The following is the correspondence which passed between Rear-Admiral Pearson and the President in regard to this matter:—

"ADMIRAL PEARSON TO PRESIDENT CALANCHA.

"(Copy.)

"United States flag-ship *Lancaster*,
"Panamá Bay, Nov. 11, 1864.

"His Excellency José Leonardo Calancha, President
"of the State of Panamá.

"SIR,—Having received officially, and from sources of undoubted authority, information that a band of

* "Evening Standard," Dec. 14, 1864. Quotation from Panamá "Star and Herald."

pirates were congregating in this city, with the known intention of taking passage in the American steamer 'Salvador,' and after leaving the Bay of Panamá in that steamer, to capture her and convert her into a piratical cruiser, I determined, if possible, to put a stop to this foul attempt upon the commerce of the world.

"The commander of the 'Salvador' requested my assistance in order to protect him and his passengers from harm while in the act of examining the baggage of his passengers, that being the only sure way of identifying the desperadoes from the peaceful and worthy passengers on board his steamer. To this I most readily assented, and for the greater security of the 'Salvador' I proceeded in this ship beyond the legal jurisdiction of the Government of New Granada, and then took from her seven persons who, with arms, powder, and other munitions of war in their possession, and bearing written proof of their intentions, were on board of her under real or false names, and with the intention of becoming pirates of the sea!

"I would most respectfully represent to your Excellency that this nefarious transaction has occurred in the venerable city of Panamá, and but for the timely information I received, this band of desperate men, leagued with others, would now in all probability have been in possession of the steamer 'Salvador,' with the design of capturing one or more of the fine mail steamers of the Pacific Steamship Company. These pirates have been arrested by me upon the high seas,

in the name of the Government of the United States, and I have to request of your Excellency permission to send them across the Isthmus, on their way to New York, in season for the next steamer for that place.

"I have the honour to assure your Excellency of the respect and high consideration of

"Your obedient servant,

"G. F. PEARSON.

"Acting Rear-Admiral, commanding
"Pacific Squadron."

The following is a literal translation of the reply of President Calancha to Admiral Pearson:—

"U. S. OF COLOMBIA, SOVEREIGN STATE OF PANAMÁ,
"PRESIDENCY OF THE STATE—No. 209.

"Panamá, 13th November, 1864.

"To the Hon. G. F. Pearson, Acting Admiral and Commander of the Squadron of the U.S. of North America, stationed in the Pacific.

"From your hand I received yesterday the note, dated the 11th inst., on board the frigate 'Lancaster,' which you were pleased to write to me, with two objects, in my opinion, of different significations.

"The first one is to make known to the Government of the State that you have prevented the accomplishment of an occurrence which, undoubtedly, would have had immense results for the commerce of the world, as is well indicated in the note, which with pleasure I am about to answer.

"The Presidency congratulates the Admiral on the dexterous manner in which he has known how to avoid this occurrence, vast in disastrous consequences, and at the same time renders him the most formal thanks for the respect which he has been good enough to pay to our sovereignty, by putting himself far from Colombian waters to execute the capture of the suspected individuals.

"The second one confines itself to soliciting the permission of the Executive of the State to pass across the Isthmus the seven prisoners which are now on the 'Lancaster.'

"With regard to this point, I have to undergo the pain of giving to the Hon. Admiral a negative answer.

"The National Constitution, in the 1st paragraph of the 17th article, reserves the foreign relations to the general Government; and article 89 prohibits all functionaries or public corporations to exercise any function or authority which has not been duly conferred on them.

"In view of the expressed dispositions of the fundamental charter of Colombia, it is not allowed to me to grant the permission which the Honourable Admiral solicits.

"I hope that the Honourable Mr. Pearson, weighing the force of the reasoning which I expose, will do full justice to a refusal emanating from the want of power for granting the permission.

"The Honourable Admiral by the fact of asking for the leave, recognises its necessity, based on the sovereignty of Colombia in the territory, and on the prin-

ciples of international law; and I feel confident that the Honourable Commander, respecting the sovereignty of the South American republics, continental sisters of the daughter of the great Washington, will renounce the idea of sending across the Isthmus the seven prisoners taken on the 'Salvador.'

"With sentiments of high consideration, I subscribe myself, the Admiral's

"Faithful and obedient servant,

"JOSÉ LEONARDO CALANCHA."*

When the Government at Bogotá heard of all these proceedings, they sent the following

[INSTRUCTIONS.]

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE OF PANAMÁ.

"A note has been received at this office from the French Minister, calling the attention of the Executive to your order of the 23d of October last, prohibiting the transit across the Isthmus of the French marines, who came to replace the invalids and discharged men belonging to the frigate 'Pallas,' at the same time offering no obstacle to United States troops on their way to California.

"The Minister complains of such preference, and asks that the necessary orders shall be given to avoid this in future. The Executive accordingly deems it necessary to express to you that the prohibition of allowing foreign troops to cross the Isthmus shall be

* Panamá "Star and Herald."

absolute; consequently no distinction ought to be made in the treatment of all nations friendly to the U.S. of Colombia. It is true that the U.S. of America occupy a special position, on account of the situation of their territories on the Pacific, and the Executive thinks that this will be a reason for Congress to consider as innocent the passing of their troops to California, and to permit the same through our territory, until the matter is settled by a special convention which has been proposed to that effect; but, in the meantime, the rule ought to be general.

"And in order that you may proceed with more certainty in any event, it seems to me desirable for you to know that the Executive is of opinion that all must be considered as troops who are organized according and subject to military laws, even if they are not positively armed."

It is hardly likely that the United States, having once obtained permission to transport her naval and military forces over the territory, will even for a time submit to such instructions as these, the latter part of which are as impolitic as they are unnecessary. The Isthmus should be an open highway, open to all nations; and even if there were an objection to the transporting of armed bodies of men over the territory, it is not easy to see a reasonable objection to the permitting the exchange of ships' crews over the railroad. But to make an exception in favour of one nation would be simply absurd, even if it could be made, and there was no "most favoured nation" clause in treaties.

The entry of the "Liberals" into office at Panamá was, as I have said, also the entry of the blacks to power. I had, since this change in the government, to defend a lawsuit in the courts of Panamá for one absent, and I found for my judges, one a journeyman tailor, and one the brother of my friend's man-servant, both men of colour! "Igualdad ante la ley." I gained my suit, as much I think because my judges could not understand the merits of it, as from any other cause, although it might simply enough have been gained on its merits. But though I say that the verdict in this case happened to be a correct one, I do not the less smile when such men as were these judges talk about their "color politico." What can the country hope for when tailors and porters are appointed to fill offices which should require at least intelligence, integrity, and education? But the fates deliver ye from a law-suit at Panamá, at the best of times! The process is endless, and the lawyers' fees are enormous. The study of law here seems to be, indeed, the most attractive pursuit for those young men of the place who make up their minds to study at all. Hence, lawyers abound; but I do not think their studies go very deep. The great art here seems to be to delay a legal process as far as possible, and, as a great deal of a suit is carried on in writing, an ordinary case in the hands of two lawyers up to their work will soon become a thick volume, if nothing else comes of it. Under the old constitution, foreigners had the right of appeal to Bogotá from the decision of the State tribunals; but

this privilege has been withdrawn under the new constitution of 1863.

Prescott tells us that the Spaniards found that the law of the Incas "was simple, its application easy, and where the judge was honest the case was as likely to be determined correctly on the first hearing as on the second," and that the Spaniards, familiar with the evils growing out of long protracted suits, where the successful litigant is too often a ruined man, were loud in their encomiums of this swift-handed and economical justice." * It is much to be regretted that the descendants of these Spaniards, which the present rulers of this continent boast to be, have not profited by this important lesson.

But there is more trickery, intrigue, and delay in matters of law at Panamá than could be imagined by one who had not visited Spanish America. I may cite two instances which came under my personal observation, amidst a dozen others which I heard of. The first was the case of a man, an Englishman too, who had absconded, leaving a little property, and more debts than were covered by it. His creditors were foreigners, so the authorities for once had no local interest in putting the clog on the naturally slow coach of the law. Now let us see what occurred. The property was embargoed. The claimants legally proved their debts, and, at the end of eighteen months' pleading, the law gave the formal order for the division of the property among the creditors. When

* Prescott's "Peru."

behold, just as this was about to be done, a new judge came into office, who decreed that his predecessor had not observed all the due formalities of the case, and that the suit must be commenced "*de novo*." There was no appeal. The last I heard of the case was, that it was about two years old, and in "*statu quo*."

The other case which also came under my cognizance was one merely of robbery, for which four men were arrested. These men, in so simple a case as this, were confined six months in the dreadful dungeons of Panamá before they, or their prosecutor for them, could get a trial, and this, too, notwithstanding the efforts of their consuls, who were the representatives of no smaller States than England and America!

These, as I have said, were simple cases, in which only foreigners were concerned. What may not the law become when conflicting political and party interests are at stake?

Well might Vasco Nunez supplicate the king that no bachelor-of-law should be allowed to come to these parts of Terra-firma, saying "that they were not only bad themselves, but they also made and kept alive a thousand lawsuits and iniquities."

This regulation, which was to be "greatly for his Highness's service, for the land is new,"* would, it appears to me, almost bear introduction in the new constitution of the United States of Colombia.

But if lawyers abound, and law is so abundantly

* Vasco Nunez. "Letter to the King of Spain," Jan. 20, 1513, quoted in "The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen."

plentiful, while justice is so difficult to obtain in the present day, there is yet, perhaps, in this respect, a better state of things now than was the case a few years ago.

I remember in 1855 witnessing a terrible act of lynch-law, which the authors of it excused as having been forced upon them by repeated instances of the apathy of the authorities and corruption of the legal tribunals. It may be briefly told as follows. A carpenter of one of the American steam-ship companies, together with his wife, had newly arrived at the Island of Taboga; and this poor fellow, who was employed as a foreman, and sometimes paid the men under him, was one morning dragged from his bed, stabbed in the neck, shoulders, and other parts of the body, and thrown out dead on the rocks beneath his cottage. His wife, fortunately, was able to effect her escape in the village, together with their young child, who was sleeping in the same room. Three men were arrested by the officers of the ships (in the absence of police) as having been concerned in this crime; one of the three confessed to his own guilt and to that of the other two, and at five o'clock on the following day these three men were hanged by the company's *employés* in the village of Taboga!—all under the eye of the local authorities, who looked passively on at this sad scene, and afterwards *pardoned* the chief instigators of the lynch-law.

CHAPTER XII.

Climate.—Sanitary Regulations.—Prudence required in living.—Society.—Women.—Dress.—Men.—Bull-teasing.

Before proceeding farther in our description of Panamá, it may not be amiss, now that the reader has safely arrived thus far, to give him some information regarding the climate and health of the place, and it is certainly no less than a duty to dispel by all fair and truthful means the unfavourable impression which generally prevails on this subject. Much, it must be confessed, tends to create and foster this impression. The reputation which Panamá some years ago, perhaps not unjustly, acquired, and the very looks of its bilious-like population, are of themselves sufficient to create and foster anything but a favourable idea on the matter. Certainly, it must be said that the climate does "take the shine out of one," does destroy all the freshness and colour of the old country, but this is a phase actually affecting only the long residents. "Are those ladies in a decline, sir?" inquired an American lady who met for the first time two of her sex who had spent some months at Panamá. This question, I think, conveys a good idea of what the climate does for one's appearance, but I do not think anything very

much more serious ought to be said of it. I do not believe it positively destroys the health even of the residents, under several years, and really the passenger merely passing through Panamá has no cause to fear, as many persons do fear, before they arrive.

But of all the people who fear most the climate of Panamá are the Chilians; indeed, they seem to have a special and almost political dread of the Isthmus. I have heard the natives of Chili congratulate themselves on their safe passage across the Isthmus, as if they had passed through an infected city. This feeling is in some degree attributable to the circumstance of the Panamá route having become a rival route to the west coast of South America. In old times most of the vessels taking merchandise to and from the northern part of the coast called in on their way at Valparaiso for supplies, &c. This profitable commerce would, of course, have continued and increased with the growth of the South American States had not the route by way of the Isthmus become available.

A recent writer on the subject of the climate of Panamá says, with much force: "I have never heard a truthful report of the climate of Panamá. It is the fashion to report it as a burning, fiery furnace, and pestilential. I would not call it either the one or the other. In our house (it was a cool one) the thermometer ranged from 78° to 84° Fahrenheit. I never knew it higher. I have even known the temperature to fall as low as 72°, and after a good spell of Panamá we feel that cold. The dry season, com-

mencing nominally in December and lasting until April, is the healthiest, and the first part of it the pleasantest. In December and January the intense heat has not set in; only in the morning, until the norther, as it is called, begins, the warmth is oppressive. By five P.M. it is becoming cool, and through the night the fine fresh wind is delightfully refreshing. I have always found March and April most trying—then is the heat felt sensibly, and the effects are very debilitating.

"The rainy season is up to a certain time merely showery, uncertain weather, and summer lightning, vivid enough, may be seen every night. Later there are terrific storms, sharp, short, and angry, and such crashes of thunder that the old crazy town seems falling in one mighty smash, succeeded by tropical rain in vast sheets, as if heaven opened to pour forth its seas upon the earth."*

Before the opening of the railway, and probably owing to the immense amount of human life which was lost in that undertaking, the Isthmus of Panamá obtained the reputation of being one of the most unhealthy places to be found away from the coast of Africa. Perhaps, looking to the sad results which are known to us, the reputation was not undeserved; but it was hardly to be expected that the emigrant fresh from a temperate climate could endure, without suffering therefrom, the hardships and privations of the several days' transit across the Isthmus, deprived as he

* "Panamá as a Home," in "All the Year Round," May 9, 1863.

was of the common necessaries of life, often unaccompanied by a change of clothing, left without a proper sleeping place at night, and always exposed during the trip to the sun, rain, and miasma of a tropical climate. There is no doubt, therefore, that a great deal of sickness was experienced by passengers crossing the Isthmus previously to the year 1855; and hence, I take it, was the origin of "Panamá fever." Dampier tells us that gentlemen that came from Peru to Panamá, especially in the months of June, July, and August, "cut their hair close, to preserve them from fever, for the place was sickly to them, as they came out of a country which never hath any rains, but enjoys a constant serenity;" but even he "was apt to believe the city is healthy enough to other people."

Happily for the traveller, this cause of sickness is all over now. The passenger of to-day as safely makes the transit of the Isthmus, as he may visit any tropical country; and unless one particularly wishes to keep his head cool, there is no reason or advantage in his adopting the apparent former practice of the Peruvians, of "cutting his hair close to preserve him from fevers."

The year here is divided into two seasons. The *rainy*, which commences about the middle of April, and lasts until the middle of December; and the *dry*, which extends over the remaining four months. The thermometer (Fahrenheit) ranges in Panamá from 72° to 92°, but these are two extreme points, and are very seldom attained, the average being between 78° and

86°, or in the dry season an average of 86° in the shade in the day, and 78° in the evening. In the wet season, about 83° in the day, and from 75° to 76° at night; and when the sun is vertical, an increase of about 2° may be added. During the dry season the breezes are from the north, and this wind is by far the most healthy. In the wet season the breezes are southerly, and less healthy. Upon the whole, however, it may be said that Panamá is really more healthy than most places situated in the tropics. The diseases which prevail chiefly amongst the inhabitants are miasmatic fevers and bowel complaints, which, in the great majority of cases, yield to proper treatment. Epidemics do not prevail here extensively; and, although cases of yellow fever occur sometimes among the passengers arriving from St. Thomas, Havannah, and New Orleans, with which ports there is frequent communication, this fever does not spread amongst the natives or old foreign residents. No quarantine regulations exist, or have existed for many years, and under no circumstances is quarantine imposed; but as far as can be ascertained, with the exception of occasional cases, the general sanitary state of the vessels from time to time in the harbour is good. Few vessels, however, now arrive at Panamá, but passenger steamers, which necessarily remain only a short time in the harbour.

Her Majesty's Consul, in his report on Panamá, which was presented to Parliament in 1863, says: "Passengers may, perhaps, be diverted from the

Isthmus when other means of communication exist, in consequence of the almost universal impression of the unhealthiness of the climate. This impression is entirely erroneous, and it would be well, so long at least as no choice exists, if it were removed. No epidemic maladies, and no diseases beyond those common in the most healthy countries, are known at Panamá, with the exception of a light class of intermittent fever, which, though extremely injurious to foreign constitutions, in combination with the debilitating effects of a tropical climate, only takes root after a certain term of residence, and is perfectly innocent on those merely passing through, or making but a short stay on the Isthmus." *

In the latter months of 1863, Panamá was, however, seriously affected by small-pox, which dreadful epidemic extended even to the native villages at the islands, which are always more free from sickness than the mainland. In Panamá it was a terrible scourge, as few of the poorer classes had been vaccinated. In one part of the Island of Taboga, too, the deaths from this disease were one in fifty-five of the estimated population. Nor were the lower animals exempt from the wide-spread epidemic influence. In one month, at the small village I have referred to, fowls, ducks, pigs, and cows died. With all this warning, it was truly astonishing to observe the obstinate ignorance of these unfortunate people. It was with the greatest

* Commercial Reports received at the Foreign Office from Her Majesty's Consuls.

difficulty that the foreign surgeons could bring about vaccination, or anything approaching to sanitary regulations, and it was not until the poorer part of the population had been decimated that even a hospital was established for the sufferers.

This is even a worse state of things than existed in the time of the Spaniards; for in the year 1804 an expedition arrived from Spain with the object of propagating vaccination, in order that it might spread throughout the Spanish colonies, and save the colonists from that formidable scourge which carried every year so many victims to the grave.*

And yet there was no law in Panamá in 1863 to compel vaccination. Those who refused to subject themselves to it, in many cases did so from a belief that it would induce an attack of small-pox. "Oftener, however, they alleged that if God intends you shall have the disease, you will get it whether vaccinated or not, and that accordingly it is contagious only so far as He makes it so. In the face of so much ignorance and superstition, it was clearly the duty of the authorities to make the operation compulsory on all those not vaccinated, or otherwise protected."†

This case serves to show how little Panamá is indebted to sanitary regulations for the general absence of epidemics that exist. The only wonder is that, with all the dirt and habitual dirtiness that prevails, the town is half so healthy as it really is.

* Restrepo's "Historia de Colombia."

† Report of an English Surgeon, 1863.

But for the carrion birds, the useful "gallinaso," who does the work that man should do, Panamá would soon attain to her former notoriety, as the generator of all kinds of fevers.

As I have said, it is upon the resident that effects of the climate are telling. The new comer, if he escapes the initiatory fever of acclimatisation, goes on pretty well for the first few months. He even bears the heat tolerably, and wonders why people complain so much about it. He has found it hotter in New York, Paris, or London in the summer; and so it is. But a second rainy season comes, and with it more loss of energy. He is, perhaps, less constant in his out-door exercise, and his digestion consequently becomes affected. It is then that the climate really begins to tell upon one, and a change becomes necessary, absolutely necessary, to most European constitutions. It is striking to observe this effect upon all classes of foreigners. A tradesman comes out from a temperate climate full of energy, and contempt for the indolent shopkeepers and mechanics of the Isthmus, but after a few short months his energies fail him. He sits in his shop with his feet cocked up on the back of a chair, like a true Yankee, and he will hardly take the trouble to rise when his customers go in to buy; indeed, he seems generally most happy if he can say he has not the article asked for.

"In Panamá women thrive not. The children are large and forward, though very pale, an effect of the heat; but the women, ladies, and peasants are miserably

lean and sallow, seldom, especially foreigners, keeping their health. The small temptation to walk prevents their taking exercise; the heat, no winter bracing them up, debilitates; they languish, lose strength, appetite, colour, grow old prematurely, yet rarely die suddenly or before their time. Intermittent fever and ague is common, and once the constitution receives that taint, nothing but change of climate eradicates it. Frequently, after sufficient change, they are enabled to return, and enjoy as good health as a tropical climate can bring to those accustomed to a temperate one." *

Prudence and care in living are, perhaps, more necessary in Panamá than in many other places, and this the traveller should be careful to remember. It is by all means important to avoid too great an exposure to the sun and rain, and particularly advisable not to indulge too freely in the tempting fruits or inferior iced liquors which are offered to the "thirsty soul" who has worked himself up to fever heat in looking after his luggage, and disputing with the negro porter.

In the rainy season the climate is the most trying to the residents. The air is heavier, and before each shower almost stifling. You are then, too, deprived of the opportunity of taking out-door exercise. For days together the rain does not cease; for although it does not rain all day long, it rains in such torrents at certain periods of the day that the roads out of the town become almost impassable, and the town becomes damp

* "Panamá as a Home," in "All the Year Round," May 9, 1863.

and disagreeable. It most frequently rains, too, of an afternoon, which is just the hour one naturally selects to go out in.

What is generally experienced in Panamá, particularly after two or three years residence without change, is a sort of lassitude, with a disinclination to exertion, and a derangement more or less of the digestive organs, all which in the course of time doubtless has a depressing effect upon the nervous system, and I think people, consequently, become here less amiable and sociable; but this I take it, too, is in much owing to the monotonous life one is really obliged to lead, and from which there is no escape. There is nothing which approaches the name of recreation or amusement in Panamá, the one or two solitary drives or rides, after having lost their novelty, become more an object of duty towards one's own health than of pleasure. For myself, I have often and often mounted my horse when I would have preferred lying down in my hammock, but for the consequences that would follow, for exercise here is all-important. Mr. Trollope, speaking of Panamá, says: "The heat made me uncomfortable, but never made me ill. I lost all pleasure in eating, and indeed in everything else. I used to feel a craving for my food, but no appetite when it came. I was lethargic, as though from repletion when I did eat, and always glad when my watch would allow me to go to bed; but I was never ill." * This is exactly the case, and the more does one experience this sort of feeling the longer

* "West Indies and Spanish Main."

one remains here. The great resource, which may be enjoyed in other places, of reading, is here almost impossible, simply because the resident begins the day half tired, and the book surely sends you to sleep; and then as regards the heat, there is in this particular really no perceptible change of season, nothing to invigorate one. As an Irishman once expressed it to me, it is never at any season of the year *cooler* at Panamá; it may in some months be hotter than in others, but never by any chance cooler; one feels this, although it cannot be denied that the excessive heat of the day is tempered by the early morning and evening breezes in the dry season. Then, too, there is very little of what is called "society" here. The lady part of the native population are exceeding reserved, and the visiting that is kept up is carried on, on a tremendous system of etiquette which bores and fatigues one; while the young men of the place, even those who have been educated abroad, seem to prefer their own society in dirty cafés and billiard-rooms, to that of their sisters and lady friends. The foreigners almost as little associate with themselves, and only most ceremoniously with the natives. Yet one sees as pretty a collection of young ladies, and as many eligible young gentlemen as the ladies require, when any one has energy enough to get up a ball. But a foreigner, even after several months' residence at Panamá, would wonder where these pretty young ladies all came from; and after the ball he might remain as many months more without seeing any of them again, unless perchance at an early

morning mass. With such elements as these it is perhaps to be regretted that there is not more society at Panamá—more of the pleasure of visiting, and less of the form.

As Eliot Warburton truly said: "On entering a strange country, its women are the first objects of interest, to the moralist as well as to the epicurean; to the former, because the education of a people and the framework of its society depend mainly upon the maternal and domestic character; to the latter, because almost every grace and charm of daily life is owing to her influence, or interwoven with her being. 'On a dit, qu'il y a de la femme dans tout ce qu'on aime.'" *

In few places in South America is it, I think, more difficult to maintain social relation with women of the better classes than in Panamá. In all South American society access to the best portion of it is more or less difficult or easy; but in Panamá, where there is so much reserve and etiquette, and where the number of "good families" is so few, a very long time is required to establish a footing of intimacy where it is really desirable. Von Tempsky says truly, in his work on Mexico: "The morality of women of Spanish descent is not in high repute amongst Europeans; yet by most persons this impression is carried far beyond truth and justice. Such impressions originate from the report of travellers anxious only for amusement on short notice, who consequently see only the worst—the scum that swims on the surface—as neither their

* "Crescent and the Cross."

time, facilities, nor inclination, perhaps, suffice to enable them to search for real worth." *

The Panameñas as a rule are graceful, pretty, and ladylike, affectionate daughters, good wives and mothers, and industrious to a degree little credited by foreigners, even by long residents in Panamá. I have known whole families almost supported by the needle-work of the daughters of the household; yet these girls were none the less young ladies; they saw only the merit of their work; it did not make them descend to the scale of the "*couturière*" in Europe.

I may quote Prescott, and say: "The upper classes, if the term can be used in a complete democracy, have not the luxurious finish and accommodation to be found in the other hemisphere. The humbler classes have not the poverty-stricken, cringing spirit of hopeless inferiority." Every man not only professes to be, but is practically, on a footing of equality with his neighbour." †

Considering the little means of education available for the better classes of girls in Panamá, there being no private schools and few persons capable of teaching, there is much to be said in praise of the industrious and economical habits of the Panameñas in the higher walks of life.

The women of the lower classes are, however, very low in the social scale; and far less can be said in their praise than in that of their betters. The little educa-

* "Mitla," by Von Tempsky.

† Prescott's Essays, "Madame Calderon's Life in Mexico."

tion in the one case amounts to none in the other. Marriage, too, among the coloured and negro women is the exception rather than the rule; and teaching on this head appears to be of little avail. What everybody does is hardly thought wrong. "Why don't you marry?" inquired a friend of mine of a young woman who had already two children by her side; "your *husband* (for so the father of the children is often called) tells me he is very willing to do so, but that you will not consent." "Ah, niña,"* she replied, "marriage is not for us poor people, it is all very well for the *blancos*;† but as soon as we are married our husbands cease to love us." If this is so, and I suppose it is, it is difficult to combat such an argument; but I think the ladies of Panamá, by their very good nature and kind dispositions, are responsible in no small degree for the state of things they complain of. They accept the present evil too much as a matter of course; and it is no uncommon event for a young lady of one of the best families to be the godmother of a child born out of wedlock. "But why do you encourage such people?" I asked a lady friend of mine who had taken as a maid-servant a young unmarried girl with a baby. "Poor girl," my friend replied, "if I do not protect her now, she will soon have to support two children, whether she would or no." There is a spirit of charity in such sentiments as these, but I almost fear that

* Young lady—the title of "young lady," or "Niña," is applied alike to married and unmarried ladies in Panamá, as "Señorita" is in Lima and other places in Peru. "Señora" is applied only to ladies of a *certain* age.

† White people.

such indulgence is too frequent to be understood and appreciated.*

The dress of the ladies of Panamá is now almost European. Even the pretty and convenient custom in this hot climate, of walking in the street with the hair prettily dressed and adorned with flowers, has, like the "Saya i manta" of the Limeña, almost passed away under the iron rule of civilization. We now see in Panamá stupid little French hats, which neither protect the face from the sun nor add to the charms of the wearers. Oh, ye gazelle-like girls, and luxurious hammocks of the olden time, and are we to lose you, too, because there is a railway!

The women of the lower classes wear what are called *polleras*, being low dresses without sleeves, and with lace trimmings on the bust. This dress, unless well made, is very untidy, but when clean and properly worn, it is not ungraceful, nor unsuitable to the climate.† The servants and coloured women are, however, exceedingly untidy with regard to their feet. They slip along the streets, and, if one will allow it, about the house in a way that set all my nerves ajar. This habit originates in a desire to make the feet appear very small on gala days, when new tight shoes are worn; and as it is impossible that these shoes can

* The lower classes are improvident as they are poor. They are fond of dress and finery on gala days, and invest all their savings in jewellery, such as chains and ornamental hair-combs, to be sold or pawned in days of distress.

† The native labourer wears only cotton or linen trousers, and a shirt, and generally no shoes.

do everyday work, they are worn down at heel as slippers when the everyday work has to be done.

The colour in dress which most prevails among both men and women at Panamá is black, while no colour could be more unsuitable for so hot a climate. The Panameños, however, cling to mourning with a tenacity that is truly terrific. Each family seems to vie with its neighbour as to who shall longest hug their grief, and wear the solemn, and in this climate, health-destroying black. It is no unusual thing for mourning to be worn for near relations for three and four years, and as many of the families are connected one with another by marriage, mourning naturally becomes the common dress of the native inhabitants. The effect on the health of this custom is most injurious, and to women especially so.

The young men have agreeable manners, and those who apply themselves with perseverance to their profession, generally display therein more than an average share of ability; but the great drawback to their success is want of application, and of steadiness of purpose. They, like their sisters, are exceedingly kind and attached to their immediate families and kin, and in many respects they are good sons and brothers, but unfortunately the stupid politics of their country appear to offer the greatest attraction to the whole community. What Mr. Perry, then her Majesty's Consul at Panamá, wrote to Captain Liot in 1845, may truly be repeated in 1865:—"You will confess that nature has been sufficiently bountiful in this long

neglected but beautiful country, and you will join me in the wish that its wonderful resources may, ere long, be taken advantage of. The Spanish race (I mean of men), are not fond of husbandry, and prefer some trumpery government employment, which gives them about 200*l.* per annum, to the more noble and ancient task of tilling, 'grata tellus,' which never deceives her votary." * This is so now, and indeed it is incredible the time that is wasted, if not more seriously misspent, by even the most respectable of the young men, in the dirty little coffee-shops and billiard-rooms of the town. But this, I take it, is in much owing to the want of a proper means of recreation, to which I have referred in a former page.

Nearly all the male inhabitants of the town are more or less conversant with the English language, which is now generally spoken, as well as Spanish. This has been acquired first from the frequent communication which was formerly carried on with Jamaica, and latterly by the great influx of American passengers to and from California, and from the *employés* of the railway company.

The Panameños, however, with all their intercourse with the world, appear as secluded in their domestic life as in the time before the opening of the railway, or before the Californian emigration. Their domestic life is passed as was passed that of their ancestors, the Spaniards, in the time of Philip II.; "in the same unvaried circle of habits, opinions, and

* "Communications between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans."

prejudices, to the exclusion and probable contempt of everything foreign."

If, however, the better classes experience the want of recreation to which I have alluded, and the want of an occasional escape from the routine and monotony of every-day life, this plea can hardly be urged for the lower orders; if one may judge from the night-dances, tambor-playing, and street brawling which constantly takes place, to the annoyance of the quieter part of the community. At certain times of the year, too, and on special seasons of rejoicing, as in the carnival month, for instance, these people are given to incipient masquerading. This takes place most frequently in daylight, and in the most public streets. This mania (for those who perform give one the idea that they are maniacs) generally lasts for three or four days at a spell. The costumes are of the most meagre description, and the principal "gracia" of this amusement appears to consist in running about the streets, and squeaking at the passers-by in a miserable falsetto voice.

My wife's maid, a Frenchwoman, gave the following description of this in a letter to her friend at Paris: "Il ya a présent tout plein de masques dans les rues, comme à Paris pendant le Carnaval, seulement qu ici ce sont de vilains nègres qui n'ont pas besoin de masques pour faire peur."

Another of the popular amusements in Panamá is, to this day, bull-fighting, nay, rather bull-teasing. Those who have formed an idea of this barbarous sport

from what they have witnessed in Spain, Mexico, or Peru, can hardly fancy to what it has descended in Panamá. At the first bull-fight at which I was present in Peru—nay, the only one, for it was enough for me—one man, four horses, and eleven bulls were killed, and this was only an ordinarily grand field-day. As a contrast, I will attempt to describe the bull-fight in Panamá, which takes place on the occasion of the celebration of any public event, or at any time that the populace wish to be particularly jolly. It is also often a delicate attention from a young man to his sweetheart on her birthday. An unfortunate bull is hired from its owner, probably the butcher, who has bought him for the market. This animal (the bull, not the butcher) is then led by a cord into the most public streets, and here the enlightened "sport" commences. Any one among the crowd of followers may challenge the victim, and some half-dozen generally do so about the same time. The poor animal, when sufficiently teased, makes an occasional rush at his enemies, but as he is always safely secured by the cord trailing on the ground, it is rare that any one comes to grief, as one almost desires should be the case. The only sufferers from this unrefined cruelty are the unfortunate bull, and those persons who have to take by-streets to get out of the way. After the first animal is tired out, he is delivered back to the butcher, and, if the *sportsmen* are in funds, a second is taken out to replace him. An American with some wit once endeavoured to give the Panameños a lesson on this subject, but it does not

appear to have had much effect. He had received from California a large bear, and one day on the birth of a child, he turned the bear loose in the streets. As may be imagined, every one made off, even the bravest of the bull-fighters. It was some time before the bear was replaced in confinement. Most indignant remonstrances were, of course, made by the good citizens to the Yankee, who coolly replied that he did not see why he should not turn his bear loose in the streets when he was inclined to be jolly, as well as the other inhabitants their bulls. And why not, say we?

Cock-fighting is also still indulged in Panamá on Sundays and holidays. The fighting-cocks may be seen every day tied by their legs to nails at their owner's doors. The lower orders, and an occasional priest, are, however, almost the only persons who now take part in this cruelty.

Horse-riding, and of late years more generally driving, is, as I have remarked, the only recreation of the better classes of the residents, and more particularly of foreigners. Since the opening of the railway, twenty or more American carriages have found their way to Panamá, together with a few good horses from New York, Jamaica, and South America. The native horses are a small, hardy, but inferior race. They live, indeed, chiefly on grass, and unless specially educated to corn, will not touch it. They appear to have greater powers of endurance than their masters in this trying climate, and are often made to go a whole day's journey on a scanty meal of dry grass,

eaten perhaps the night previously. The native horse, however, is chiefly used on the cattle estates, while his rival, the foreigner, is employed for riding and driving in the town. The natives copy the Spaniard in the management of their horses, and as Von Tempsky says of the Mexicans, "their management partakes at times a little of affectation, particularly in promenades, apparently curbing their high-spirited animals, they are in reality forcing them into action. This affection becomes thoroughly ridiculous when (as is often the case at Panamá) the horse is a perfectly inoffensive animal, imperturbable in temper and manner." *

* Von Tempsky's "Mitla."

CHAPTER XIII.

Religion.—Hospitals.—Cemeteries.—Market.—Cost of living.—Servants.—Labour.—Insects.

ACCORDING to the constitution of the State, there is perfect freedom of religious worship at Panamá. The constitution guarantees the free profession, either public or private, of any religion; but in the exercise of it no acts are permitted which are considered incompatible with the sovereignty of the nation or that of the State, and the Government of the state exercises the right of guardianship over religious corporations and their ministers. The religion of the native population is still Roman Catholic, which was preserved as the State religion on the declaration of independence, but which is in no way recognised now, or protected by the Government, and under the recent rule of the "Liberals," less so than ever. Indeed, the "Liberal" Government decreed the appropriation of the whole of the Church property, and literally expelled the whole body of the Catholic priests.

The laws of 1863 and 1864 appear to have been framed with the view of bringing the Roman Catholic Church completely under the authority of the State. The law of 1863 required that no minister of any of

the forms of worship established, or to be established in the nation, should exercise the functions of his ministry without taking previously, before the first political authority of the place in which he was to exercise it, the oath to obey the constitution, laws, and authority of the Republic and of the State, and to submit himself to and respect the sovereignty of the nation. Those who did not comply with the provisions of this law were to be banished from the United States of Colombia; or if they did not comply, and pretended, notwithstanding, to exercise their ministry, they were to be punished as disturbers of the public peace. By the same law the establishment of regular religious communities or corporations was, without distinction, prohibited, while those which existed in the nation were extinguished.

It was not to be expected that the Roman Catholics, who for a long series of years had been accustomed to manage their own affairs in their own way, would consent to this interference on the part of the Government. The bishop left immediately, and the priests one by one followed his example, and so the churches were closed, the bells ceased to ring, and poor Panamá had even to bury its own dead in silence, and without the offices of any minister. Indeed, so rigidly were these edicts observed in Panamá, that when an English Roman Catholic missionary, who was passing through on his way to San Francisco, ventured to baptize and say mass in private, without first having conformed to the law, he was cited before the autho-

rities, and with difficulty was enabled to leave Panamá by the steamer by which his passage was taken.

In 1864 these decrees were modified, but not in a manner to afford much gain to the Catholics. The Government still reserved itself the right of inspection over the forms of worship, but made the oath of submission to the constitution and laws compulsory only with the chiefs of the church and those holding hierarchical authority. Yet those who complied with, or caused to be complied with, bulls, or orders emanating from any authority residing in a foreign country, without first having obtained permission of the executive power of the Union, were to be considered as attacking the sovereignty of the nation, and he who in the exercise of his ministry denied to the Government this right of inspection was also considered to offend in the same manner, and to be punished by six years' banishment from the territory. By this law was also prohibited the admission on the territory of any agent of the Roman See, or any bishop or vicar not a native of the United States of Colombia.

In consequence of these laws, and of the proceedings of the Government in taking possession of the property of the Church, the whole of the Roman Catholic clergy left Panamá, and for upwards of a year the churches remained without a bell tolling or a minister officiating. The modification of the law in May, 1864, led, however, to the return of some of the priests, and service has again been performed

since that time. But the bishop did not so return, and it is not probable, while the "Liberals" are in power, that the Church will regain much more of her lost ground. The Catholic clergy hitherto residing at Panamá have not been of a very high order, and have not, I think, taken great pains to enlighten their flock, hence there is much ignorance and superstition among the lower classes and those who are uneducated; indeed, it is not too much to say of the priesthood of Panamá, that they had fallen into a lamentable decay of both discipline and morals. That the mind or morals of the inhabitants suffered much from the absence of the indolent, ignorant priests who left the Isthmus in 1862, one is certainly inclined to doubt; and it is much to be desired that on the re-establishment of the religion in the State a better order of things may accompany it.

Panamá, we are told, was made a bishop's see in the year 1521; and it was the first erected in Terra Firma, being next after that of Santo Domingo. Until the year 1862 it continued to be the residence of a bishop; but, as I have said, "the moral and intellectual improvements, from its ancient abundance of clerical and educationary establishments, have left but little traces among the people in general. The religious fervour which the convents of the order of San Francisco, Santo Domingo, La Merced, and the barefooted Augustines must have laboured hard to promote, is scarcely now to be seen or felt." *

* Panamá "Star and Herald."

The people of Panamá submitted almost without a murmur to having their churches closed, and to seeing the Government take possession of the Church property. A few years ago the idea of such an occurrence would have brought the whole population to arms; but all extremes are evil. In the days of the republic of Colombia the Roman Catholic religion was established and maintained by law; but more liberality prevailed then in this country than in almost any of the Spanish American States. In the first session of Congress, in the year 1821, the detestable inquisition was abolished, and in the earliest treaties with foreign States liberty of worship was guaranteed to foreigners.

The Church and clergy of New Granada were sustained in the time of the Spaniards by the "diezmos" or tithes which the Pope, Alexander the Sixth, conceded to the Catholics of Spain from the first discovery of America. At the commencement of the revolution in Colombia the revenue from this source in the bishopric of Panamá was 25,000 dollars. The clergy of the bishopric was composed at this time of 89 secular and 25 regular, in all 114. The Jesuits were expelled from New Granada, to the astonishment of the other Spanish colonies, on the 30th July, 1767. This powerful body possessed a great influence with the New Granadians, acquired by their religious services to the people, who venerated them, together with their riches, and by the education of the young. They were, however, expelled from all

the colleges in one night, and the government of the king took possession of their rich properties.*

Several attempts have from time to time been made by the foreign Protestant residents, for the establishment of ministers of that Church at Panamá but with only partial success; the foreign residents being few in number and of various sects, while the pecuniary resources available have been insufficient for the object. In the latter end of 1864, however, the South American Missionary Society, aided by subscriptions from the several steam-packet companies trading with the Isthmus, sent out a clergyman to Panamá whose arrangements, at the time I write, are to perform service on Sunday mornings at Panamá, and on Sunday evenings at the Island of Tobago. There is no Protestant church at Panamá, and the residence of the United States consul was first selected as the place in which to hold services. This same chaplain also performs service at Colon on the first Sunday of each month, on which occasion the service at Panamá is omitted.

Previously to these arrangements, the Protestant residents at Panamá, with the exception of an occasional service performed by the chaplain of a man-of-war in port, had been left to their own resources for religious instruction. Indeed, steamers arrive and depart, and cargo is discharged and embarked under the superintendence of English and American employés on Sundays as on week-days; and

* Restrepo's "Historia de la Revolucion de Colombia."

there is very little in the general appearance of the town to indicate even a day of rest, except it be the closing of some of the shops towards the afternoon.

There is still a native hospital at Panamá under the management, or perhaps I should rather say the *mis*-management of the local authorities. As may be expected, it is no credit to those officially connected with it; for Spanish America is of all countries not great in this particular; and here the cleanliness, nursing, and medical aid are worse than indifferent. There is, happily, however, a small foreign hospital supported chiefly by the French and Italian residents. This institution, which is well conducted, under the care of a good French physician, has saved the life of many a poor fellow who has arrived sick and friendless at Panamá. During the time of the early Californian emigration, the Americans fitted up a ship as a hospital, which was an arrangement perhaps not unsuited to the place and climate.

There is also at Panamá, in addition to the native cemetery, a small British burial-ground, apparently the smallest British cemetery that probably exists in any foreign country, but its appearance is so because only part of the ground granted for this purpose by the Government has yet been inclosed. Within the inclosure—a low stone wall—are the graves of those who lost their lives in Panamá when in attendance on Bolivâr's congress in the year 1826.

The British Protestants who have died in Panamá

since this inclosed spot has become filled, have been interred near to it, or in the ground set apart for this purpose by the steam-packet companies on their islands. At the time I write this, it is proposed to inclose the whole of the ground granted to England some years ago by the old Government of Colombia, and also the spot near it which contains the graves of American citizens. It is to be hoped that this arrangement may be carried out. A proper foreign burial-ground has, however, so often been talked of that one almost fears that much will not be done in the matter. I presume the few foreign Protestants who live in Panamá hope not to be buried there. The native cemetery is in the old Spanish style. It is a large inclosure containing a series of catacombs or vaults in the walls, which are let for a certain period to the friends of the deceased. In one of these vaults the coffin is placed, and bricked up, and some months afterwards the bones are removed to the church; but if they are not reclaimed at the proper time they are then thrown out to make room for new comers. There is something very revolting in all this to those who have seen a more civilized performance of the last sad offices.

A foreign lady generally finds herself surrounded by various and unknown difficulties on commencing housekeeping at Panamá, and be her energies what they may, she must in the end almost resign herself to the tender mercies of her cook, by whom all the

marketing is done at six o'clock in the morning. After this hour hardly anything eatable in the way of fresh provisions can be procured. At *this* time, or indeed as soon as daylight begins, buyers and sellers assemble in the square of "Santa Ana," which is set apart for market, and is surrounded by butchers' stalls and shops. Here, too, the native women take the fruit, fish, and vegetables which they deal in, as they sit or squat on the stones; and here one's daily breakfast and dinner is bartered for by "cocinera" or "el cocinero," as the case may be, against whom and whose tastes there is, alas, no appeal. However, as "La Plaza" offers only beef, poultry, and eggs, and every day the same, there is not much scope for selection; more depends on the merit of *la cuisine chez soi*. *Apropos* of the fish: the name of Panamá, in the old Indian language, signifies abounding in fishes. This has been more freely translated a *fishy place*; which translation, all things considered, perhaps the reader of these pages will by this time not consider far from the mark, if the bad pun could be pardoned. Leaving this question for after discussion, we must, however, do justice to the excellent fish one gets here at almost all times abundantly, including the very perfection of oysters, which are gathered from the rocks near old Panamá at low states of the tide.

To give my readers an idea of the cost of actual living in Panamá in the present day, I cannot do better than quote the average of the most important

and necessary expenses, which are as follows:—House rent, with fair accommodation for a small family, from £100 to £200 per annum, according to the situation (*that* is, cool or hot); four native servants, £60, or the equivalent; three Jamaica servants, £100; daily marketing bills, £200; washing, £50; one horse and groom—not a luxury in this climate, but as much a necessity as the daily bath—£100; wine, beer, &c., and clothing, of course depend upon the individual taste everywhere. These pay no duty, but are dear on account of the high freight.

A bachelor may live pretty well at the hotel, with apartments in a private house, for about £250 per annum; and this system is adopted by most of the unmarried foreigners.

The charges at the hotel for passengers are three dollars, or twelve shillings per day, exclusive of ice, wine, and baths. The table is occasionally both *good* and *bad*, but more generally indifferent.

I have said, one must depend much on the cook, if housekeeping is to be undertaken in Panamá; but alas! for the other servants. In this respect one is literally in a perpetual difficulty. The native servants, men and women alike, are, with but few exceptions, dirty, careless, untidy, lazy, independent, and insolent. The Jamaica negroes are almost, if not quite, as bad, with the only perceptible difference that they demand much higher wages, and make more noise. But if one gets out European servants they either marry and

leave, or get really sick or home-sick and dissatisfied, so much so that it becomes necessary to send them back again. Of Europeans, however, French are the best adapted to the customs of the place, and the mode of living altogether. English servants, male and female, come to grief immediately. This question of servants is one of the greatest difficulties of domestic life in Panamá, and one from which housekeepers of tender nerves suffer every day, and all day long. All servants in this country have a way of doing their work peculiar, I think, to Panamá. For a long time my nerves were attacked by seeing the women about the house always slip-shod and *décolletée*, and no efforts of mine, or rather of my European friends, were able to bring about a better state of things, even with the best of them. My wife used to make it a rule to give her maid-servants their shoes in order that they might at least be tidy in this particular, but it was of no avail, the shoemaker was always in league with the women, and the new shoes were invariably made too small. This was, I suppose, in order that a conquest might be made with the "swell" shoes for the first Sunday or two, and then they were run down at heel to the untidy slippers again. The propensity to carry everything on the head, too, is something more than remarkable. I remember a housemaid of ours, a really good servant for a native, who used to walk up-stairs at night with the jug of water in her hand and the candlestick on her head, and when there was no candlestick to carry, the place of honour was given to the

water-jug. The author of "Panamá as Home" gives the following very fair account of domestic servants in Panamá:

"English and Americans usually hire West Indian or American negroes and negresses for their servants; the natives are dull, lazy, and dirty, neither willing nor capable of being taught. As a rule, I found the Americans not to be trusted. There is the utterly degraded, coarse, brutal negro and mulatto (as a general rule, I prefer the genuine black man and woman, too); there is also the deeply hypocritical, Scripture-quoting, psalm-singing, Jamaica nigger, in whom put not your trust—these are invariably arrant impostors. Other blacks are zealous in service, honest, faithful, painstaking, and foolish; they become deeply attached to you, and show you all sorts of delicate attentions in the way of offerings of flowers, cakes, fruits, &c. They bear your scoldings meekly, and, while the scolding is fresh in their minds, profit by it; they have not a shade of common sense nor judgment; they know little of morality; they are untidy, variable in spirits, pleasing in manner, likeable with all their faults."*

My own experience of the Jamaica negroes at Panamá is, that they perfectly conform to Ca. de Mosto's account of their African ancestors, who were "full of words, and never had done talking, and were for the most part liars and cheats."*

But these difficulties are by no means confined to

* "Conqueror of the New World."

domestic servants only. Labour of any kind at Panamá is not easily procured, and a fair day's work for a fair day's pay is, according to the European idea, out of the question. Life is by far too easy for the poorer classes for there to be any hope of these people becoming truly industrious; as they say themselves, "It is never cold here;" and where it is not cold, there is not much hunger. So long as a man can live and support his family upon a few baked plaintains * and a piece of dried meat or fish, and sleep soundly on the bare ground, he has but few wants, and these few wants he can readily provide for by one or two days' work a week—work that is performed lazily but dearly paid for. While this is so, he will hardly learn to appreciate the comforts of a better and more industrious life. Labourers and porters in the city earn a dollar a day. Those in the country about half as much.

* "The banana, that bountiful plant, which seems to have relieved man from the primæval curse—if it were not rather a blessing—of toiling for his sustenance."—PRESCOTT'S "Peru," vol. i., page 139.

The Plantain and Banana are of the same species. This plant is proved to have been indigenous to South America. It now grows almost without care on the Isthmus, and is literally the bread of the poorer classes of to-day, as it was in the time of the Incas. The unripe fruit roasted is certainly an excellent substitute for bread. I have used it myself in the country for weeks together, in preference to bread, which could not be obtained freshly baked. On the cattle estates near Panamá, where the "Vaqueros" have rations of beef served out to them as part of their wages, they usually exchange with one of the neighbours engaged in the cultivation of the plantain, part of their beef for this fruit, and it is almost invariably eaten unripe.

"An acre sown with bananas will support more than fifty persons; whereas the same amount of land sown with wheat in Europe, will only support *two* persons."—BUCKLE.

"But let us be charitable towards the people who languish in this place, and let the apparent superiority of the one who tills the soil and fertilises it by the sweat of his brow—let his merit not blind us to the drawbacks in the way of development in the languid, and the stimulants that help the active.

"It is well known that heat causes laziness, and cold activity; but to ascertain the difference, one should have experienced frequently sudden changes from the one to the other, and then he would know how exceedingly little will has to do with the difference between what one accomplishes on a cold or a hot day's working;—how very little, consequently, the result is attended by merit. I feel inclined to go even so far as to say that the little labour the tropical man accomplishes in a day is more worthy of approbation than the greater task performed by the man of the temperate zone; for the former needs for its accomplishment a greater moral effort, which is productive of more fatigue, whereas the industry of the latter is but an instinctive movement.

"There can be no doubt as to the one class being in effect lazy, and the other active; but I wish merely to warn Europeans against expecting too much from the introduction of improved industry in countries of a tropical character."*

"Will you lend me a couple of dollars, sir?" said a man to me, whom I had occasionally employed. "Lend you two dollars," I replied; "what for?"

* Von Tempsky on Guatemala. "Mitla," p. 315.

"Please, sir, I owe this woman two dollars, and if I don't pay I shall be put in the *calabozo*."* "But why don't you work?" I urged; "there is plenty of work to be had. I thought you were working at that new house that is being built." "So I was, sir, but that work was worth a dollar and a half a day, and the master only wanted to pay us a dollar, so we struck, and wouldn't work any longer." This is the sort of thing in very many instances; and as the employer must have his labour, and as the labourer can live without work, the master, who is generally at Panamá the weakest, goes to the wall.

My wife once gave a boy from the country, who had been out all day on a long journey, a "pillon" or thick saddle-cloth and some rugs to sleep upon. An hour afterwards I was astonished to find him flat on his face on the bare boards. "Ah! nina," he said in the morning, "how can you sleep on a bed when you have such delicious boards as these to lie upon!" A native thinks himself well off if he has a hide between his body and the ground.

Another of the numerous subjects of petty annoyance to the resident at Panamá is the destruction by the climate and insects of almost all kinds of furniture, books, and clothing. This takes place to an almost incredible degree. It is nearly impossible to preserve furniture, especially anything which is not made of solid wood. A pianoforte hardly stands the climate,* and keeps in order for six months, while

* Prison.

the books and clothes which are not in daily use are devoured by the small insects with a cruel rapidity.

With regard to insects generally, however, there is not much else to fear. Scorpions, it is true, are to be met with in the old buildings, and the mosquitoes at certain seasons of the year are not wanting in their attention, but, happily for the residents, new comers are generally preferred by the mosquitoes.

An Englishman of my acquaintance—nay, an Irishman—who had resided many years in Panamá, and who was very susceptible to the bite of mosquitoes, adopted an eccentric practice, which he assured me answered admirably, but I confess I was never tempted to try it. He made one small hole in his sheet—as a rule one is only covered here by a single sheet at night. He then buried himself in the sheet, and committed himself confidently to the arms of the sleepy god; for the musquitoes, after buzzing about for a short time, soon discovered the hole in the sheet and the supper set apart for them. If they became too impetuous and awoke my friend, he made a vigorous dash at them with the palm of his hand, and destroyed, he said, the whole army, while, on the other hand, if they were moderate in their pretensions, they were quietly allowed to feed on.

I recommend rather the removal of the candle to an adjoining room or passage to which there is a door from your bedroom. These dear little creatures always seek the light. I prefer this arrangement even

to the musquito-net, which make one's bed hot and stuffy.

The bite of the scorpion is not worse than a sting of a wasp. A bite from a snake, too, even in the country, is of rare occurrence. Upon the whole my experience of venomous insects and reptiles here is, that they will get out of one's way at all times, if they can possibly do so, without declaring war. In my shooting excursions in Pacora I have come upon whole hosts of alligators, each big enough to take me in at a mouthful; but I never saw one do anything else than make off out of harm's way. Of course, however, these monsters would not be pleasant companions to bathe with.

CHAPTER XIV.

Taxes.—Bank.—Newspapers.—Shops and Stores.—Commerce.—Cotton.—Panamá Hats.

PANAMÁ, as well as Colon, must be considered a free port. There are now no custom-houses on the Isthmus, or supervision of any kind in regard to exports and imports. According to the contract with the railroad company, it is stipulated that "passengers, money, merchandise, and goods and effects of all kinds which may be transported across the Isthmus, to go from one ocean to the other by the railroad, shall be exempt from taxes, imposts, national, provincial, municipal, or of any other description; but the merchandise or effects destined for consumption in the interior of the republic shall pay the duties and imposts established or to be established, when such goods leave the warehouses of the company." * The principal part of the expenses of the State are provided for by a commercial tax assessed on all traders in the proportion estimated to the amount of the business of each; and if such a tax could be properly levied it would, probably, be a fair one, but it is difficult to find out in such a place as Panamá what the income derived from the

* Article 34.

business of a person is, the more so as it is the object of every one to pay the least possible contribution towards the tax in question. The system at present adopted is for the Legislative Assembly to fix annually the sum required for the expenses of the State during the year, and the proportion of this sum that the commercial tax must produce. The tax-payers are then called together, and are made to select from their own body a committee of assessors. The result of the whole proceeding invariably is, that all, from he who pays the most to he who pays the least, consider themselves hardly used. A duty recently established is also collected, in the same manner, on tobacco and spirits imported and sold for local consumption. There are other taxes, too, on distilleries, on house property, on cattle living and killed; but none of these are so productive or so generally unpopular as the commercial tax. It would be difficult, however, to say what tax would be popular or cheerfully paid on the Isthmus. There is no doubt that the commercial tax has been increased and raised, year by year, beyond all reasonable limits; and on this account the foreign consuls at Panamá have assisted the merchants and traders of their respective nations in their endeavours to get redress and relief. This tax is levied in sums from one to three hundred dollars per month, varying according to the estimated trade of the shopkeepers or merchants.

The "Commercial Bulletin" says, relative to the commercial tax for 1865, that "The question is now

plainly reduced to foreign interests *versus* native interests. By the chances of election there were four native and but one foreign merchant on the Committee of Assessment. The result has been :—

	Dollars.	
154 establishments are taxed at . .	4916-66⅔	per month.
Of these 16 are foreigners, taxed at .	3812-50	„
Leaving 93 establishments to pay . .	1104-16⅔	„

Of these sixty-one foreign establishments, fifteen of them are to pay $2930, sixteen are to pay $635, and thirty are to pay $247-50. The consequence is that the leading foreign houses charge the committee with having favoured the native houses to the prejudice of the foreigners, and object to bearing so great a disproportion of the tax."*

Except in the matter of this tax, traders at Panamá are subject to little molestation by the Government authorities. This is a marked advancement upon former times. In the year 1822, for instance, a law was passed enacting that no foreigner should be able personally to transact as a merchant his own business; while, should he determine to sell merchandise in the country, he was obliged to nominate a consignee, who was required to be a citizen of Colombia with an open house of business, and who was to be responsible for all duties, &c. Restrictions of this class do not now exist, nor are foreigners, except those domiciled in the country, subject to forced loans or military service.

Weights and measures and money, according to the

* January 13, 1865.

Colombian law, are based upon the French decimal system, but English and Spanish measures are also used commonly. All kinds of money are current, and pass freely enough at Panamá—indeed, only too freely. The English sovereign represents five dollars. The French five-franc piece one dollar, and fractions in proportion; but there is some difficulty in passing bank-notes or paper currency of any kind. Of the smaller silver coins there is generally a scarcity, and there is as yet no copper currency in circulation, which causes much inconvenience to the housekeeper and those who have small payments to make—hence papers, of which the following is an exact copy, are sometimes issued by the small tradesmen, and are commonly received by their customers in change for coins of greater value:—

REAL	*GOOD FOR* **Five Cents' worth of Bread.**

Some merchants, too, even import cents from the United States to enable them to give change, although American money commands a premium of from two and a half to four per cent. over all other currency. Bills of exchange on England at sixty days' sight generally now command a premium of from one to two per cent.; on Paris, at ninety days' sight at par, and one per cent. discount.

"Merchants draw upon England and France, and

purchase supplies in the United States, thus increasing trade in that direction."*

A discussion in May, 1864, at the congress at Bogotá, brought forward some statistical returns relative to the actual debt of the United States of Colombia, from which it appears that the republic now owes altogether 52,500,000 dollars. Of this sum the English loans take up the greater part, 36,400,000 dollars, the interest of which is paid from the twenty-five per cent. of the customs' revenues up to the 1st December, 1866; after that date thirty-seven and a half per cent.; and fifty per cent. of the income from the Panamá Railroad. The rest of the existing debt, it was calculated, would be covered by the produce of the mortmain property.†

In 1861 a private bank was established in Panamá under a privilege from the Government, and it is still in operation. To give my readers some idea of the value of money here, I may quote a few of the regulations of this establishment, which do not appear extraordinary in comparison with the usual transactions of the place, however they may appear to the European eye.

1st. The bank agrees to receive in deposit silver, gold, precious stones, &c., charging a commission of one per cent. on the value for the time the deposit remains in the bank under one year, after which a new commission of one per cent. is charged.

* Report of United States Consul.
† Panamá "Star and Herald."

2nd. The bank will discount (good paper understood) or lend money upon an interest of *two* per cent. per month.

3rd. The bank will not admit cheques from the persons who have accounts open, for less than fifty dollars (£10).

Some of our banking establishments in London would, I dare say, like to have an innings at such a game as this, but money which is lent out at interest in this part of the world generally produces from one to one and a-half and two per cent. per month, upon the best security that is obtainable. This is because the smaller traders have little or no capital. A concession appears also to have been granted in 1864 to the London Bank of Mexico and South America, by the Government of Colombia, and sanctioned by Congress, of which the following are the heads:—Exclusive right to issue notes throughout the union in all Government transactions and payment of customs, duties, and taxes, the same as money. The bank to have custody of all national funds, and the right to establish branches throughout all the States of the Union, inclusive of Panamá, with the above privileges. These privileges are conceded for a period of twenty-five years, and the bank is to act as the Government financial agent in the country, and to be always considered a neutral establishment.

There is one newspaper, the "Star and Herald," published tri-weekly in Panamá, in the English and

Spanish languages. It usually gives a useful summary of the news brought by each steamer to the Isthmus. There is also an official gazette or Government paper, and from time to time other periodicals are started, but these are generally short-lived, and devoted chiefly to local politics. I do not think, however, that the natives of the Isthmus care very much about the politics of Europe, so long as they are well posted up in the to them more important movements of Central and South America; so, probably, had the "Star and Herald" depended only on local support, it would long ere this have likewise expired. But this paper is also freely circulated on the West Coast and South America, and in the neighbouring states of Central America, and it has had the merit hitherto of being the only newspaper published in Spanish America in the English language. It was established in the year 1849.

The first newspaper printed in New Granada, was introduced by the viceroy, Field-Marshal Ezpeleta, January 1st, 1791. It was called "Periodico de Santafé de Bogotá," and published weekly during the whole of his administration.

As at St. Thomas, almost anything and everything may be purchased at Panamá. All the shops are open stores or warehouses, and the largest establishments sell as readily by retail as by wholesale.

* Restrepo's "Historia de Colombia."

With one or two exceptions, the principal trade in foreign merchandise is carried on by foreigners, while there is a general disposition on the part of every trader to deal in any article for which there is a demand. Thus, one may buy hams and cheeses at a ready-made clothing store, or brandy, gin, flour, sugar, and rice at a wholesale drapers; while the ship-chandlers announce "a large variety of *dry goods* carefully selected for this market." But the merchandise sent to this market is not generally of a first-rate quality. The United States furnishes the greater part of the provisions and a fair share of the said "dry goods," although considerable importations are made from England and France, particularly of ready-made clothing, wine, perfumery, &c., and last, not least, of pale ale and brandy. It was hoped by the traders of Panamá, that with the increased facility for communication, buyers from the interior of the republic and Central America would come to Panamá to make all their purchases, but it has been found that a great many of these buyers, when they get thus far, go on to Europe or the United States and spend their money there. "Although free from duties, all these imported articles generally maintain a market price of nearly double their original cost, owing to the high railway and steam-ship freight, the expensiveness of house and store rent, and the destructive nature of the climate."*

* Commercial Report of Her Majesty's Consul. Presented to Parliament, 1863.

The opening of the railway from one ocean to the other, in 1855, had the effect, in the first instance, of paralysing the trade of Panamá, for the railroad company having obtained, amongst other important privileges, the fee-simple of the island of Manzanilla, on which the new city of Colon is built, their chief agency was formed there; thus the passengers from California never remained any time at Panamá, but were, as they now are, hurried off to Colon. The considerable expenditure, therefore, made by the passengers formerly in this city ceased, and many houses of business were in consequence obliged to close in 1855 and 1856.*

These were chiefly houses engaged in the forwarding business. On the opening of the railway this business became no longer necessary. The railway company received direct consignment of the goods intended to be transmitted across the line, and the intervention of a third party on the Isthmus, as in the time of the conveyance by mules, was no longer necessary. Many hotels, too, which were solely supported by the passengers at Panamá, were obliged to close when it was found that the passengers remained only either at Colon or on board their ship. The hotels are now chiefly supported by the passengers to and from Europe, whose detention at Panamá is generally longer than with those from New York or California.

* Commercial Report of Her Majesty's Consul for 1855. Presented to Parliament, July 29, 1856.

Panamá having originally been, as before shown, the chief depôt where the valuable productions of the Pacific coast of the former Spanish colonies of South America were collected for the purpose of being transported across the Isthmus to the Atlantic, the greater part of the population of the town were educated and employed in the carrying trade, consequently agricultural pursuits were almost neglected, with the exception of the rearing of cattle and the growth of such produce and vegetables as were actually necessary for the immediate requirements of the inhabitants.

The lands of the Isthmus, although well adapted to the growth of corn, sugar-cane, rice, grazing, &c., are still almost wholly neglected, the natives only cultivating enough to afford home supplies. Small quantities of coffee and cotton are produced. Landed proprietors turn their attention mainly to cattle-breeding, which yields them a clear profit of at least fifteen per cent. per annum.*

The value of cattle has considerably increased with the increased demand of late years. Thirty or forty years ago cattle on the estates was valued at from seven to twelve dollars each animal; the estimated value is now twenty dollars. Cattle for the market has increased, too, in like proportion in value, the price being now from thirty to thirty-five dollars each animal, or ten cents (five pence) per pound gross weight; choice meat is even retailed at twenty

* Reports of British and American Consuls, for 1862 and 1863.

cents per pound (ten-pence). No sheep are reared on the Isthmus. Goats are sometimes killed as a substitute for them, but they are a very poor substitute for "real south-down." Pigs are bred in large numbers, and form an important staple of commerce; indeed, it can hardly ever be said that there is "quiet in the pig market" at Panamá.

Sugar growing is profitable, but it requires a great outlay, and is dependent on the uncertain supply of labour. An enterprising American, of German birth, has recently opened a large sugar plantation in the district of Chepo (near the city), and has erected American machinery for manufacturing sugar, molasses, rum, and cocoa-nut oil.*

No mining operations of importance exist, and the small quantities of gold that are now found in the vicinity of Panamá leave no profit above the labour attending the search. The natives still obtain small quantities of gold in the tributaries of the river Chagres, the men being able to wash out at certain periods gold to the value of six to twelve shillings daily.

The import trade of Panamá for consumption on the Isthmus is now estimated at about 70,000*l.*, and consists principally of English and German cotton and woollen goods and hardware; lumber, ice, and preserved provisions from the United States; flour from the United States and Chili; and rice, coffee, and sugar from Central America.

* Report of American Consul, 1863.

The export trade of Panamá comprises, according to an approximate estimate:—

	£
5,000 hides, valued at	1,500
Pearls	25,000
Pearl shells	10,000
Caoutchouc (indiarubber) 4,000 quintals	14,400
Vegetable ivory	1,100
Cattle, fruits, vegetables, &c., principally supplied to shipping	8,000
	£60,000

Besides this sum, produce to the amount of at least 20,000*l.* is consumed on the establishments of the various steam-ship companies at Colon and Panamá, and, which though not actually exported, is paid for in money drawn from abroad.*

In addition to the above, tortoise-shell, balsams, gums, and vanilla, are also produced and exported in small quantities. A great part of the value of the imports is paid for in specie remittances, and by bills on Europe, which the various men-of-war and steam-packet companies sell from time to time, to meet their current expenses. The exportation of indiarubber is a new feature in the trade of Panamá. It is produced in considerable quantity in the province of Darien and other parts of the Isthmus, and brought to Panamá for sale. About 1000 quintals were exported in 1862, but four times that quantity in 1863. The average value of this article in Panamá is about 18 dollars the

* Reports of Her Majesty's Consul for 1863. Presented to Parliament, 1864.

quintal, or 9d. per lb. In order to obtain the india-rubber, the trees from which it is produced have hitherto been cut down, and it is feared that unless this destructive manner of obtaining this important article of commerce is remedied, the indiarubber of the Isthmus will, ere many years, be exhausted.

In the years 1862 and 1863 the cultivation of cotton was commenced on the Isthmus, and, it appears, with very fair success. In the interior of the State about 700 acres were then planted with cotton, and, in 1864, the cultivation prevailed more or less over the country generally. Some Sea Island seed has been remarkably productive; cotton having been collected three times at intervals of three months. The plant, which in the United States is an annual, appears in Panamá to be a perennial, since that which was sown thirteen months ago was still in a flourishing condition. This may be partially explained by the absence of frost. The American Consul who planted some upland seed, was enabled in three months to send a sample of cotton to his Government, which was favourably reported on, and a further quantity of seed was sent for gratuitous distribution. The authorities of the United States evince the utmost desire to promote the growth of cotton on the Isthmus; natives, as well as foreigners, being anxious to obtain seed; and it is estimated that about 3000 acres would be placed under cotton on the Pacific side of the Isthmus by the end of the following year. The cultivation is quite in its infancy; the great difficulty is the want of labour, and it is not

probable that there will be any exports of importance at present.

The following letter from the department of agriculture at Washington to the United States Consul at Panamá, shows the opinion which has been formed of Isthmus-grown cotton in America, and manifests the desire of the authorities of the United States to promote the cultivation of cotton on the Isthmus:—

"DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

"Washington, D.C., May 27, 1863.

"SIR,—I have the honour to inform you, that your letter dated the 27th ult., addressed to the Department of State, has been referred to this Department, together with the specimen of tree cotton, and also a sample of cotton grown from seed sent to you by the late Agricultural Division of the Patent Office.

"I beg to say in reply, that the sample of cotton is beautiful in my opinion, the staple compares favourably with the best upland Alabama. The result of your experiment is so marked and successful, that I have deemed it important, and worthy of the consideration of this country, that you should have the aid of this department as it can be consistently afforded to extend and perfect your experiments in the growth of that important staple.

"This department concluded to donate at once *one hundred bushels* of the best North Carolina seed, to be distributed free, under your control; and in order to

enable you to make the distribution free, I have succeeded in inducing the President of the Panamá Railroad Company to transport the seed from *Washington to Panamá free of all charges.* This Mr. Hoadley finally agreed to do, in order to encourage and induce an extensive growth of cotton on the Isthmus, which, of course, will benefit that company.

"With reference to the specimen of tree cotton, I beg to say, that the staple is too short and brittle for any practical use.

"It will give this department pleasure to hear from you at any time on matters of this kind, and I shall be glad to receive a sample of the cotton from this seed, say two pounds, which may be sent direct to the Department of Agriculture.

"I am very respectfully
Your obedient servant,
"ISAAC NEWTON, Commissioner.

"Alex. McKee, Esq., U. S. Consul,
Panamá, New Granada."

"N.B.—I enclose a copy of the letter from Mr. Hoadley with reference to the free transportation of the seed."

"Office of the Panamá Railroad Company,
"New York, May 21, 1863.

"SIR,—On reflection, since writing you on the 18th inst., I have come to the conclusion that this company can consistently pay the expense of transportation of cotton seed from Washington to New York, destined for gratuitous distribution on the Isthmus of Panamá.

If, therefore, your department will forward to the address of Joseph F. Joy, Secretary of the Company here, such quantity of cotton-seed as you may consider it expedient to send to the Isthmus, the freight of the same will be paid here; and it will also be forwarded to its destination at the expense of the company.

"I am, Sir, respectfully

"Your obedient servant,

"DAVID HOADLEY, President.

"Hon. Isaac Newton, Commissioner,
"Department of Agriculture, Washington."

The Panamá newspaper, in a recent article on the subject, says, apparently with much reason, "That if it will pay to go far off (as at the Navigator Islands) and buy land at from 10*l.* to 15*l.* the acre, surely in a country abounding in fair lands such as the Isthmus, and within a few weeks of the best market, the speculation could scarcely fail to be a profitable one." . . .

"In most of the provinces of this State, not only a variety of soils may be selected and tried; but also different localities with mean temperature varying from 80 degrees at the coast, to 50 degrees in the region of the Cordilleras. In the province of Chiriqui the plains ascend gradually from the coast, until lost in the ranges of the Cordilleras, which are there about 20 miles distant. At an elevation of 500 feet or less we find the oak, the bramble, and the potato, when tried, did well. The people, unless they have lost the industrious habits with which we knew them,

would not only furnish labour, but could be easily induced to plant cotton, if any leading man only showed them the example."*

But with all these advantages, the people of the Isthmus do not appear yet to have become thoroughly awake to the advantages of cotton growing, for another article in the same periodical, after citing the numerous countries now producing cotton, says:—

"In the midst of this great uprising of people, shall it be said that the Isthmus of Panamá has done nothing? With the finest of plains for the cultivation of cotton and an existing railroad for its exportation, why wait for the foreigner to show us the way, by first putting his hand to the plough? How long shall we continue to smoke the pipe of idleness, dependent only on a few hundreds of cattle, which neither yield milk nor cheese, roving wild over the plains and returning only some fourteen calves per 100 head, clear of expenses? The people of Veraguas, it is said, are up and stirring; but we hear nothing from the fine province of Chiriqui, except it be political animosities and private revenge. Perhaps of all the departments of the State, there is none more adapted to cotton cultivation than that of Chiriqui. Towards the shores of the Golfo of Dulce are some of the finest lands. Throughout the forests we find abundance of chocolate trees and cotton plants left to grow wild! especially in the vicinity of Punta Burica. The monkeys at present enjoy the fruit of the one, and

* Panamá "Star and Herald."

the birds line their nests with the fibres of the other.

"Throughout the whole territory of the state of the Isthmus, from the borders of Costa Rica to the Gulf of Darien the possession of cattle seems to be the chief aim and ambition of the inhabitants. As we have already said, this species of industry is very little conducive either to individual wealth or general prosperity. Very few have 500 head of cattle, whereas in the culture of cotton all might partake. At present from the ports of the Isthmus there is not commerce enough to maintain even a small steamer; with abundance of cotton to export, everybody would be benefited. It is to be hoped that the President and Assembly of the State will use their respective influence towards this. Some of the prefects, we are told, have obliged the people to go to mass. Why could they not also oblige them to plant cotton? Whatever may be said about liberty, certain it is that the present prosperity of Costa Rica dates from the time when the supreme authority requested every good citizen to plant coffee."*

But what about Panamá hats? asks my reader, for every one who has heard anything of Panamá has probably heard of the far-famed Panamá straw hats. And who has not remarked, on the Boulevards at Paris, the shop filled with these hats, and with characteristic exactness dedicated in the old Parisian style, "aux docks de Panamá?" Alas, for

* Panama "Star and Herald."

the illusions of commerce! There are really no Panamá hats, as there are no docks at Panamá. The hats in question are so called in the same way, but hardly with the same right that the hats made in Tuscany are called Leghorn hats. The Panamá hats are made chiefly in the neighbouring republics of Ecuador and Peru, though some are manufactured in the interior of New Granada, but all are merely shipped from Panamá. Madame Ida Pfeiffer says, "Both sexes (in Panamá) wear little round straw hats *which they know how to plait*, but these do not look well on the women, as they are too small, and scarcely serve to cover the thick plaits of their hair." Here the traveller was mistaken. The hats worn at Panamá are the hats above described; but none are made there but those of coarse straw worn by men only. I have seen another published account which states that "The province of Panamá produces much more than Peru. It is supposed that not less than sixty or eighty thousand hats are annually exported from the province of Panamá. If the average price of a hat is reckoned at two piastres, these exportations will represent a value of about 200,000 dollars." I dare say the natives of the Isthmus heartily wish this was the case. The account I have quoted goes on to say, however, with more correctness, "The plaiting of these hats occupies the whole of the Indian colony of Moyobamba, on the banks of the Amazon, to the north of Lower Peru. In this village men and women, children and old men are equally busy. The

inhabitants are all seen seated before the cottages plaiting hats, and smoking cigarettes. The straw is plaited on a thick piece of wood, which the workman holds between his knees. The centre is begun first, and the work continued onward to the rim. The time most favourable for this kind of work is the morning of rainy days, when the atmosphere is saturated with moisture. At noon, or when the weather is clear and dry, the straw is dry; the straw is apt to break, and these breakings appear in the form of knots when the work is done. The leaves of the bombonaxa, to be fit to be used, are gathered before their complete development. They are steeped in hot water until they become white. When this operation is terminated, each plant is separately dried in a chamber where a high temperature is kept up. The bombonaxa is then bleached for two or three days. The straw thus prepared is despatched to all the places where the inhabitants occupy themselves with plaiting hats; and the Indians of Peru employ the straw not only for hats, but also in making those delicious little cigar-cases."

These hats are very durable, and when washed with care look almost as well after a year's wear as when new. These are, however, heavy, which, I think, makes them to some extent unsuitable for a hot climate. They are also very expensive; a good one costs from 20 dollars to 40 dollars (4*l.* to 8*l.*), and it costs a dollar (4*s.*) every time it is cleaned. They are much worn by South Americans and West Indians, and no native girl of the lower classes considers her-

self properly dressed to go out of the house without one. The hats worn by these classes cost from 2 to 10 dollars each.

The author of "Three Years in Chili," correctly says: "Guayaquil is the great depôt for Panamá hats, 800,000 dollars worth being sold annually. The grass of which they are made is found chiefly in the neighbouring province of San Cristoval. They can be braided only in the night or early in the morning, as the heat in the day time renders the grass brittle. It takes a native about three months to braid one of the finest quality, and I saw some hats which looked like fine linen, and are valued at fifty dollars a piece even here."

The above estimate is, however, much too large. The value of the hats exported from Guayaquil in 1853 did not amount to 200,000 dollars. In 1862, it was about 220,000, while in 1861 it was under 150,000 dollars — calculating the dollar as four shillings.

CHAPTER XV.

The Transit Trade—Steam Ships.

THE great business of the Isthmus is of course the transit trade, now again as it was in days gone by. To perceive this, we have only to examine the statistics of the railroad company. Each year's statement shows an increase in the several classes of merchandise conveyed across the Isthmus; and there is no doubt that the transit business by this route is steadily developing. Large quantities of wool and cotton are now sent by way of the Isthmus from Peru and Central America, and almost every description of merchandise which was formerly sent to and from Europe, the West Coast of South America, and Central America, *viâ* Cape Horn, is now forwarded by way of Panamá, including even copper ore from Bolivia and Chili. As I have said, a glance at the accompanying figures will be sufficient to show how this trade has increased, and is steadily increasing month by month and year by year, and yet it may be said to be in its infancy. A further great and important increase may be speedily looked for by means of the new line to New Zealand, when that line shall come into operation.

The transit trade consists of all kinds of manufactured goods from Europe and the United States, for the South Pacific, Central America, the West Coast of Mexico, California, and British Columbia; and of gold and silver from those places, and cotton, wool, alpaca, copper, barilla, caoutchouc, orchilla, hides, sarsaparilla, bark, indigo, cocoa, sugar, coffee, and straw hats, from the South Pacific and Central America, exported to Europe and the United States.

The estimated value of all imports at Panamá, in 1863, was £11,706,495; that of exports, £4,988,553; making a total of £16,695,048. The value of imports at Colon during that year, though not ascertained with any degree of precision, may be fairly estimated at the amount of exports from Panamá, with the addition of £60,000 for imports at Colon for consumption on the Isthmus.

The exports at Colon would, on the other hand, be equivalent to the imports at Panamá, less £10,000 the value of imports at Panamá for consumption, and with the addition of £60,000, the estimated value of Isthmus produce exported to Europe and the United States.

The imports at Colon, in 1863, would thus be £5,048,553; and the exports, £11,756,495; making a total of £16,805,048. According to these estimates the trade proper of Panamá, in 1863, was:

Imports at Colon and Panamá	£70,000
Exports at Colon	60,000
Total value of Panamá trade	£130,000

And the transit trade, during the said period, was :

Imported at Panamá, and exported at Colon . .	£11,696,495
Imported at Colon, and exported at Panamá . .	4,978,553
Total value of transit trade	£16,675,048*

During the four years ending December 31, 1855, 121,820 passengers were transported over the railroad.

The amount of specie conveyed over the road during the same period was over 200,000,000 of dollars, or £40,000,000. The exact amount being :

	$	c.
Of gold	171,157,421	25
Of silver	29,403,793	49
	$200,561,214	74

consigned as follows :

	$	c.
To the United States	135,135,093	87
To England	65,426,120	87

The following statement shows the quantity of *British* merchandise which arrived at Aspinwall from England direct, and passed over the road during the first three years after it was opened :—

	Weight (lbs.)	Cubic feet.
1855	423,669	35,151
1856	693,999	87,337
1857	3,160,156	95,338†

In the year 1858 the following quantities of merchandise were conveyed across the Isthmus, viz. :—

Measurement. Cubic feet.	Weight. Pounds.
533,639	38,570,410

* Commercial Report of Her Majesty's Consul for 1863. Presented to Parliament, 1864.

† Private letter, afterwards published, from President of the Railroad Company to one of the Directors.

and—

American mails . . .	798,776
English ditto	43,940*

In 1859 there were 46,976 passengers, and the undermentioned specie and merchandise :—

	$ c.
Gold	48,382,476 95
Silver	12,439,108 14
	$60,821,585 9

Of which the following proportions were sent to England :—

	$ c.	
From Mexico—Gold . .	232,171 49	
„ Silver . .	4,139,686 19	
		4,371,857 68
From California—Gold		4,257,683 98
From South America—Gold .	535,701 29	
„ Silver	7,145,964 70	
		7,681,665 99
From Panamá—Gold . .	477,345 58	
„ Silver . .	67,959 92	
		545,305 50
Making a total of		$16,856,513 15

The remainder, namely, 45,365,071 dollars 94 c., having been forwarded in this year to the United States.

The quantity of merchandise transported over the road in this year was as follows :—

Weight (Tons).	Measurement (Tons).
20,627	12,728

and—

Mails—British . . .	23 tons weight.
„ American . .	422 „ †

* Commercial Report of the Writer, as Acting-Consul for 1858. Presented to Parliament, 1861.

† Ibid. for 1859. Presented to Parliament, 1862.

In 1860 there were 31,357 passengers, being a decrease in number of a little more than 15,500 as compared with the previous year; but the average for each of the five years from 1855 to 1859 only shows an excess of 2,500 passengers over this year.

In treasure there was likewise a decrease of upwards of 10,000,000 dollars, as shown by the following figures:—

Gold and pearls . . .	$39,443,981
Silver	11,376,951
Jewellery, &c. . . .	641,278
	$51,462,210

On the other hand, there was an increase of twelve per cent. in the quantity of merchandise crossing the Isthmus, in 1860, as compared with the previous years. The following were the quantities and description of merchandise conveyed during the year.

* Express goods, cubic feet . .	23,492
* Measurement ditto . . .	579,611
* Weight ditto	21,430,730
Mails, pounds weight . . .	839,761
Baggage „ . . .	157,367
Coal „ . . .	39,634,198
Lumber, feet	958,206
Gunpowder, barrels . . .	22,945
Furniture, cubic feet . . .	6,254
Hides, number	82,985
Pearl shells, pounds weight . .	883,420
Ice „ . .	600,939
Quicksilver, flasks . . .	449
Silver ore, pounds . . .	771,071
Copper, bars	749,501

* For particular description, see the "Railway Company's Tariff," Appendix, page 389.

Metal and amalgam, bars . .	750,531
Whale oil, gallons . . .	820*

or gross quantity about 48,000 tons.

In 1861 the number of passengers conveyed across the Isthmus was 30,969. The amount of treasure during the same year was as follows:

Gold and pearls . . .	$39,310,125
Silver	14,250,832
Jewellery, chiefly from Europe.	458,907
	54,319,864

The following statement shows the quantity of merchandise, &c., transported across the Isthmus during this year:—

Baggage, lbs.	248,708
Coal „	37,183,340
Miscellaneous, lbs. . . .	7,042,339
Ditto, feet	211,170
†Express goods, feet . . .	39,519
†1st Class freight, feet. . .	475,597
†2nd „ „ . . .	2,221,261
†3rd „ „ . . .	2,945,662
†4th „ „ . . .	9,768,859
†5th „ „ . . .	5,539,570
†6th „ „ . . .	128,510‡

In 1862 the number of passengers was 26,420, and the amount of treasure conveyed across the Isthmus was as follows:—

	$	c.
Gold and pearls	40,196,473	87
Silver	14,687,131	62
Jewellery	573,239	44
	$55,456,844	93

* Report of Her Majesty's Consul for 1860. Presented to Parliament, 1862.

† For particular description, see "Railway Company's Tariff," page 389.

‡ Report of Her Majesty's Consul for 1861. Presented to Parliament, 1863.

Of this amount the sum of $5,024,499 20c. was remitted from Europe in jewellery and specie, and the remainder was sent to Europe and the United States, in the following proportions :—

	$	c.
To Europe	23,740,733	42
To New York	26,691,611	49

The remittances to England were from the undermentioned sources :—

	$	c.
From Panamá and Pacific ports of New Granada	296,837	
Pearls from Panamá	64,616	
From South Pacific, including Chili, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador . .	7,177,975	
From North Pacific, including British Columbia, California, and Mexican Coast	16,201,305	42
	$23,740,733	42

This falling off of the remittances to the United States was one of the immediate consequences of the war. It was owing to the want of security felt by merchants and shippers for property on board American vessels; and so American as well as English merchants sent their remittances by the British steamers to England.

The following statement shows the quantity and description of merchandise, &c., transported across the Isthmus in the year 1862 :—

American mails, lbs.	412,522
English „ „	46,023
Extra baggage „	672,775
Carried forward . .	1,131,320

Brought forward, lbs. .	1,131,320
*Express freight, cubic feet . . .	10,260$\frac{4}{12}$
*1st Class „ „ . . .	545,220$\frac{1}{12}$
*2nd „ „ lbs.	3,428,147
*3rd „ „ „	5,277,312
*4th „ „ „	19,012,690
*5th „ „ „	6,025,314
*6th „ „ „	298,760
*Special, lbs.	15,136,265
*Ditto, feet	261,008$\frac{7}{12}$
Coals, lbs.	24,378,537

Or gross quantity of merchandise, 58,734 tons.†

In 1863 the number of passengers was 32,273, and the amount of treasure transported was as follows:—

Gold	$36,611,295
Silver	18,653,239
Jewellery	496,495
Treasury Notes	1,050,000
	$56,811,029

Of the amount of treasure about 5,000,000 dollars were exported from England to Peru, being the amount of a loan made to that country in 1863; and nearly 500,000 dollars represent the value of jewellery exported from Europe to the Pacific. The remaining 51,000,000 dollars were sent from Pacific ports to Europe and the United States.

Of this latter sum, the following amounts were sent to England in this year:

* For particulars of the various descriptions of articles referred to in the several classes, &c., it will be necessary to refer to Company's Tariff, page 389.

† Report of the Writer, as Acting-Consul, for 1862. Presented to Parliament, 1864.

From California and Mexico . . .	$33,000,000
From South Pacific ports . . .	8,340,000
From Panamá and Buenaventura . .	600,000
From Central America	300,000
	£8,448,000 = 42,240,000*

It may be again observed, in the statement for this year, how the larger proportion of the treasure found its way to Europe instead of the United States, as had been the case previously to the war.

The following is the statement of the merchandise conveyed across the Isthmus during the year 1863 :—

American mails, lbs.	614,583
English „ „	45,976
Baggage	901,078
Express freight, feet	13,121
1st Class freight „	1,238,670
2nd „ „ lbs.	3,111,367
3rd „ „ „	6,777,102
4th „ „ „	28,827,131
5th „ „ „	6,443,585
6th „ „ „	219,044
Special „ „	6,028,250
„ „ feet	45,470
Coals, lbs.	17,918,496
Or freight—	
In lbs.	70,886,612
„ feet	1,297,261

The foregoing statements of the Panamá Railroad traffic comprise the whole of the two branches of the trade—the trade proper of the Isthmus and the transit

* Report of Her Majesty's Consul for 1863. Presented to Parliament, 1864.

trade—with the sole exception of a small amount of imports at Colon and Panamá for consumption on the spot, and of a small amount of produce collected at and exported from Colon, and which do not pass over the railroad.*

Although the railway statistics have shown a decrease in the passenger traffic from time to time with the falling-off of emigration to California, the carriage of merchandise to all the ports in the Pacific has steadily increased, and when the present high rates of freight are reduced, will entirely supersede the trade round Cape Horn, and will not probably be affected in the transit of merchandise by any new route which may be established across Central America, over which it must possess many advantages.†

From all the statistics which have been published relative to the Panamá Railroad, it appears that the traffic in cargo has doubled itself every three and a half years, or nearly so. In 1860 about 48,000 tons of merchandise were carried over the Isthmus, while in 1863 the quantity was nearly 100,000 tons. But it does not appear that the passenger branch of the trade has as yet increased in anything like a similar proportion. This is owing, in addition to the falling-off of the emigration to California, to the occasional opposition of the Nicaragua route, by which the California passengers are from time to time conveyed at much

* Report of Her Majesty's Consul for 1863. Presented to Parliament, 1864.

† Ibid. for 1861. Presented to Parliament, 1863.

lower rates than by the Panamá route in the absence of opposition.

It would seem, however, that the increase in the cargo branch has not been attended with comparative increase in the profits of the company. In the report of the superintendent engineer for 1855, the earnings calculated on 35,000 tons of merchandise carried in that year were $1,815,000 or $33, per ton, while those produced in 1862 on 58,734 tons were only $921,432—that is to say, $15 68c., per ton, showing a decrease in seven years of more than 52 per cent. in the value of this branch of the business.

From the year 1856 to 1862, the increase in the traffic was 260 per cent., and the increase in the expenses 38 per cent., but owing to the reduced rates at which the cargo had ultimately been conveyed, the increase in the profits were only about 24 per cent. These were natural consequences of the undertaking. When the railroad was first opened, only merchandise, and articles of great value upon which a high rate of freight could be paid, were forwarded by the Isthmus route; but in later years it was found necessary to stimulate the general traffic by conveying cargo at more moderate charges, and each year, as has been shown, inferior classes of cargo have been forwarded in increased quantities by this route. It has been estimated that in cotton from Central America alone, almost a new article of export, 15,000 tons would be conveyed across the Isthmus during the year 1865. This, of course, is one of the articles upon which a low rate of freight only

can be paid, and which will tend to increase the gross amount of cargo carried, but which also tend to reduce the rate per ton on the gross quantity conveyed.

Having seen the number of passengers and quantity of treasure and merchandise which are now yearly conveyed across the Isthmus, we may inquire how these passengers, this treasure and merchandise, are brought to the Isthmus and taken away from it. We can some of us remember the time when the Isthmus was visited only by an occasional Government schooner with the monthly mail from Jamaica. Those who do so remember it, hardly imagined that they would see in a few short years more arrivals and departures of steamers at the Isthmus than there are days in the month. The arrivals are now as follows :—

British	From	Southampton and the West Indies	2*
„	„	Liverpool and the West Indies	2*
„	„	Grey Town	1*
„	„	Carthagena and Santa Marta	1*
American	„	New York	4*
British	„	South Pacific and New Granadian Ports	4†
American	„	West Coast of Mexico and California	4†
„	„	Central American Ports	2†‡

There are corresponding departures to the above-named places, making now no less than forty arrivals and departures monthly; and ere long it is probable that there will be a line of British steamers between

* At Colon. † At Panamá.

‡ The steamers of the "Compagnie Générale Transatlantique" will commence regular monthly voyages to Colon from St. Nazaire about July, 1865, when the Pacific Steam Navigation Company will place an additional corresponding steamer a month on the line to and from Panama and the South Pacific ports.

New Zealand and Panamá in addition to the above. To see how rapidly this important branch of trade has increased in this direction, it is only necessary to remember that in 1840, and for some years after, there was only one steamer a month touching regularly at the Isthmus of Panamá.

In a former page I have alluded to the European letters and papers which find their way in such vast numbers to the Isthmus. Panamá is indeed in this particular the great centre of South American civilization—a very St. Martin's-le-Grand. All the correspondence for the whole coast of South America is distributed and despatched by Her Majesty's Consul at Panamá, who, with a large staff of clerks' passes many a hot night in sorting and stamping letters which twenty days previously had been likewise sorted and stamped at the General Post Office in London. Well may the home officials leave the multitudinous geographical problems to be dealt with by the more practised hand of the official abroad. It is no easy task to know how to dispose of a letter addressed "Señor Don Juan Smith, Lambayaque, Chile, near Lima, Central America;" or, "Captain John Thomas, Ship 'Mary Jane,' in care of the Consul, Chinchey Islands, Central America." I have seen dozens of such addresses. One of the most refreshing sights to a European stationed at Panamá is, I think, the sight of the long row of mule-carts bearing towards the English consulate their goodly loads of British mail-bags.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Islands.

If I were a botanist I should delight in giving my readers an account of all the interesting orchids and pretty wild plants and flowers of the Isthmus. I have often wondered that we have not ere this been favoured with some scientific description of them all. But alas, I must leave these charming scenes in more able hands, with only a few words in correction of a popular error respecting the far-famed flower called the "Espiritu Santo," which all visitors to the Isthmus hear of, and make it a duty to see. It appears that this curious orchid has now reached the gardens of Prince Demidoff at Florence, and, having migrated to a new home so grand, it has naturally done so with an additional reputation, if we may judge from a paragraph which lately appeared in one of the London newspapers in this wise:—"Have any of your readers seen that most wonderful flower from Panamá, called the Holy Ghost? We had our curiosity gratified the other day by seeing a very fine specimen of it in the greenhouses of Prince

Demidoff, at San Donato, near Florence. It is impossible to imagine anything more perfect, in the form of a pure white dove resting on the inside of the outer leaves of the flower. It is a curious fact that no other flower is allowed to be placed on the altars of the churches of Panamá." Whatever veneration may have been bestowed on this pretty little flower by the early Spaniards, or by the "still more superstitious Indian," to whom Dr. Otis, in his book, alludes, we must at least relieve the present inhabitants of Panamá of the charge of superstition above referred to. The flower certainly meets with no particular attention from the natives of the Isthmus, and far from its being selected, to the exclusion of other flowers, for the decoration of the altars of the churches, it is scarcely, if ever, used for that purpose, although flowers are much employed in the churches at Panamá, as in most Catholic churches. Several of the flowers of the Isthmus are indeed very beautiful, among others the "Galan de Noche," one of the cactus tribe, which gives forth its noble flowers at night only. It is grown at Panamá in great perfection.

With much care and attention, plants common in temperate climates, such as roses, pinks, &c., may be cultivated; but there is a great enemy to gardening in the ant, who is incessant in her attacks upon all choice plants; and, owing to the scarcity of water in the dry season, horticultural pursuits are attended with unusual vexations—indeed it is with difficulty that one can grow enough parsley and lettuces for one's own table;

so that, with the exception of a few plants on the balconies of the houses, gardening is a pursuit unpractised at Panamá.

The islands in the Bay of Panamá are very pretty, and form together a picturesque group. Those nearest the town are called Perico, Flamenco, and Isnao, and are situated about two and a half miles north-west of the city. They are now owned by the Panamá Railroad and Pacific Mail Steamship Companies. They are but slightly cultivated, but are used as depôts for coals, stores, and provisions; and on these islands have been buried many American officers of the men-of-war and steamship companies who have died at Panàmá. Flamenco is the largest of the three. "Perico and Flamenco, with the outlying rock of San José, are the group forming the south side of Panamá Road. Isnao and Culebra, the western and southern parts of Perico, are connected with it by an isthmus of beach and rocks, but at high water these present the appearance of three islands. Perico is the head-quarters of the United States mail-steamers, the bay on the north side forming a convenient anchorage, while on the isthmus, which is sandy on that side, steamers of 2,500 tons have been easily beached. Under the lee of the islands vessels of large burden may lie in perfect safety, and this is, indeed, the usual anchorage of the men-of-war and large American steamers. There is no anchorage in the Bay of Panamá nearer than a mile from the town, but even so near it is not very safe, owing to the great

rise and fall of tide, which is from twenty to twenty-seven feet."*

"It is high water, full and change, at Panamá at 3h. 23m. The springs range from eighteen to twenty-two feet, and the neaps from six to ten feet. The ebb sets south from one to one and a half miles an hour, and is stronger than flood, which runs to the north-west. A long swell, which occasionally sets into the road, always ceases with the flowing tides."†

The bay is usually tranquil, and undisturbed by much wind or sea, but tempests from time to time occur during the rainy season, with strong winds and a heavy sea swell. The "South American Pilot," published under the authority of the British Admiralty, says, "Panamá Road may be considered secure, the ground being muddy holds well."

"A sailor, resident in Panamá for five years, remarks that during that time there was no known case of a vessel being driven from her anchor; and with good ground-tackle, and common precaution, a vessel might lie there all the year round with one anchor down. Attention to the tides and soundings of the roadstead will enable a vessel to lie close in at times for the discharge of cargo."‡

Another writer on the subject says, "The Bay of Panamá presents advantages for a naval station superior to any that can be found in any other port of

* "South American Pilot." † Ibid.
‡ Quotation from "Nautical Magazine" for 1856.

the Pacific. For safety and commodiousness the bay is unsurpassed. If I mistake not, I am sustained in my opinion of the suitableness of Panamá for a naval depôt by the united testimony of all the officers of our navy who have been stationed at that point."*

But even on this subject, and where it appears there are conflicting interests, sailors, like doctors, differ. Captain Pim says, "The Bay of Panamá cannot by any perversion of the term be called a port, it is simply an open roadstead, and at certain times not particularly safe." He goes on to say, "The steamers are obliged to anchor some miles from the shore, and passengers, goods, and supplies have to be transhipped in a small steamer and lighters; and this can only be done at certain times of the tide, for the rise and fall is great, and the water very shallow near the shore. In bad weather there is considerable uncertainty and danger, and sometimes disembarcation is delayed a considerable time." And he quotes in proof of all this a complaint or indignation meeting of the passengers of the American steamer, "J. L. Stephens," in 1856, in which they complained of having been put with their baggage on board a small steamer and a lighter to be conveyed on shore, a distance of FIVE miles.† Such an account as this is likely to mislead and misinform one entirely with regard to the port of Panamá: exceptions must not be taken or

* President of the Panamá Railroad Company.

† "The Gate of the Pacific."

mistaken for rules. On an average, three thousand passengers per month are embarked and landed without extraordinary discomfort for and from the various steamers in the Bay of Panamá, which are chiefly those anchored at the islands of Flamenco and Perico, and certainly not distant more than two and a half miles from the railway pier. It is of course true, with so great a rise and fall of tide, that the tide is unsuitable at certain times for the approach of the small steamers to the landing-pier, as it is at Boulogne; but when this is the case, passengers are allowed to remain quietly on shore, or on board their ship, until they can be transferred without inconvenience. The passengers who are perhaps the worst off in this respect are those of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, owing to the greater distance of Taboga (where the vessels of this line anchor) from Panamá; but the trip to and from Taboga is merely a matter of an hour and a half, and is not generally more dangerous or disagreeable, taking the climate into account, than that to which passengers proceeding by steamers lying in the Southampton river are exposed when going out to join their ships.

"Taboga Island, with those of Urava and Tabogailla, forms a pleasant group of islands about four miles long by two broad, lying nine miles to the southward of Panamá. Taboga, the highest and largest, 930 feet above the sea, is well cultivated, with a considerable village on the north-east side. To the

northward of the village is the Morro of Taboga, a small hill connected to the mainland by a low sandy isthmus covered at high water."*

"From the bay the scene is certainly very enchanting, so much so that I would recommend all travellers who are favoured by the view to stay, and not run the risk of disenchantment. The island is very mountainous, the village very picturesque, *at a distance*, but alas! on landing and proceeding to our queer little abode, much in the style of a French lodging-house, in some very out-of-the-way Norman village, great was our disenchantment. Hard flinty stones cutting straight through your boots, more dirt à la Panamá, many more pigs, lean dogs, and goats. The latter, together with enormous crabs, used to walk into our sitting-room and promenade at their ease; the hungry dogs would prowl about, terribly tame, sniffing after any food they could pick up; the cats, too, so gaunt, and lean, and hungry, poor beasts—for it is not a land of milk and honey, and neither human nor dumb animals fatten on good things.

"There was a fine bath to be got after a hard clamber up the side of the mountain, more beautiful scenery, exquisite foliage, great magnificent trees, and a stream running along rocks and stones."†

The English Company have an extensive factory for repairing their steamers at the Morro, which was purchased by this company some years ago, and here

* "South American Pilot."

† "Panamá as a Home," "All the Year Round."

one meets with a little colony of a hundred Scotch mechanics, who appear to enjoy good health, and be able to do a fair day's work, notwithstanding the heat and drawbacks of the climate generally. Here, too, there are "pretty little cottages clean and white, but built of wood and cruelly hot."* At this island Her Majesty's ships stationed at Panamá procure their supplies of coals and fresh provisions and fruit. There is a gridiron too, 300 feet long, on which H.M.S. "Magicienne," a vessel of 1255 tons, was repaired in 1858. If the Admiralty were to make a depôt at Panamá for the Pacific squadron, as may some day be necessary, there is probably no island in the bay that would be more suitable and convenient for the purpose than Taboga, as there is a great rise and fall of the tide there, giving facilities for the examination and repair of large vessels, facilities which are not to be met with elsewhere in the Pacific nearer than at San Francisco. At Taboga the supply of good fresh water is at all times abundant.

"The anchorage formed by the Morro is convenient, being about three cables from the shore in ten fathoms."†

Taboga is generally considered more healthy than either Panamá or Colon, and is much less subject to rain than the mainland.

The accompanying drawing shows a comparison of the temperature of the Island of Taboga with

* "Panamá as a Home." † "South American Pilot."

Colon, of which the result is peculiarly striking, considering that there is hardly a distance of fifty miles, as the crow flies, between the two places. The table was prepared in 1863, by an English physician resident at Taboga, from the result of observations taken at both places.

Farther south, on the eastern side of the bay, are the famous Pearl Islands, a group comprising sixteen islands and several rocks. Here numerous small villages are dispersed, containing the population engaged in the pearl-fisheries, in all about 2,000 souls. We have seen in the preceding statistics that pearls and pearl-shells are now exported from these islands to the value of about £35,000 annually. Bouillet, in his "Dictionnaire Universel á Histoire et de Géographie," says, that the pearl-fisheries of Panamá are now abandoned, but I do not find they were ever more productive than at present; even before the emancipation of the slaves, the value of the exports was not above 80,000 dollars (£16,000). In the Bay of Panamá, sharks are very numerous, and pearl-fishing is not without its dangers from this cause. At certain times of the year the sharks come up to Panamá and frequent the shipping, when they are easily caught by the sailors. On one occasion I witnessed myself an instance of the rapacity and extraordinary powers of digestion of these monsters of the deep. The mate of a ship lying at Taboga had fallen overboard one night after dark, and although every search was made for him without delay, his body could not be found. On the

following day, a large shark was caught by the sailors of a neighbouring ship, and, on the monster being opened, an arm of the poor sailor, with the sleeves of his jacket and shirt, were found in the shark's stomach, together with two soda-water bottles. This was all that was ever found of the poor sailor.

The pearls of Panamá are distinguishable from those of the East by their oval shape, which often takes the form of a pear. The Eastern pearls are round, but are of a more brilliant hue.*

* For further particulars of the pearl fisheries see pages 334 and 335.

CHAPTER XVII.

Nationality of the Railway.

In a former chapter, I proposed to examine more minutely the question of the nationality of the Panamá Railway, and to see what England had lost by losing what is called the command of the Isthmus route. Captain Pim, in his "Gate of the Pacific," makes out that we have lost a very great deal; more, I think, than is actually the case. "The fact cannot be repeated too often," says Captain Pim, "that the Panamá Railway is the *only* transit, and that it belongs *exclusively* to the United States." By the contract entered into between the Government of New Granada and the Panamá Railroad Company (which will be found in the Appendix), the Government granted to the Company the exclusive right of constructing a line of railway between the two oceans, across the Isthmus of Panamá, and this privilege continues in force for forty-nine years, computed from the 27th January, 1855 (the day upon which the railroad was opened to public use). It was stipulated, however, that at the expiration of *twenty* years, counting from the date on which the

railroad was completed, the Government might resume the privilege for the benefit of New Granada, on paying the sum of 5,000,000 dollars (£1,000,000 sterling) to the Company in compensation for the plant, and the materials and workmanship which had been expended on the road. This privilege, it was stipulated, might also be resumed at the expiration of thirty years, on the payment of 4,000,000 of dollars; at the expiration of forty years on the payment of 2,000,000 of dollars; and at the expiration of the forty-nine years without any payment whatever. Captain Pim even admits that the soil upon which the railway is constructed is the property of New Granada, and is held on lease only; but he asserts that unmistakable evidence has been given, both before and since the outbreak of the present war, that the leasehold is intended to be converted into a freehold. Of this, I think further proofs are wanting than those which Captain Pim or any one else has brought forward; and I think he makes throughout his work, when referring to the railway, a grand mistake, by inferring that it is an enterprise of the United States, when, in fact, it is simply that of a private company, of which even Englishmen are directors.

The route, it is well known, was never asked for or conceded to the United States, and the Government of the United States refused to the original projectors any assistance in carrying out the undertaking.

As has been before correctly observed, after both French and English speculators had obtained more

favourable grants of the same route, a few American merchants undertook the work, and having by an honourable contract secured their privilege, they spent almost the whole of their private fortunes in perfecting the scheme. "No imposing ceremony inaugurated the 'breaking ground.' Two American citizens, leaping, axe in hand, from a native canoe, upon a wild and desolate island, their retinue consisting of half a dozen Indians, who cleared the path with rude knives, strike their glittering axes into the nearest tree; the rapid blows reverberate from shore to shore, and the stately cocoa crashes upon the beach. Thus, unostentatiously was announced the commencement of a railway, which, from the interests and difficulties involved, might well be looked upon as one of the grandest and boldest enterprises ever attempted."*

It is impossible that we can deny to the Americans these facts; and I think that it is unnecessary to our cause that we should appear to do so; for certainly, as far as the railway has yet been conducted, it has been fairly open to all nations, and it is indeed impossible to see how, in the interests of the company, it could be otherwise. Indeed, by the fifty-first article of the company's contract with the Government of New Granada, it is stipulated that, "In consequence of the collection of the duties and rates of transportation fixed by it, the company binds itself always to effect with care, punctuality, and celerity, and *without exception as to national character*, the transportation of

* "Handbook of the Panamá Railroad."

travellers, cattle, merchandise, goods and materials of all kinds which may be confided to it."

In the same article it is also stipulated, in a sense far from that of exclusion, that all "shall be transported without any deduction from the established prices, except such as it may allow in favour of nations which are now bound, or may *hereafter become bound*, by means of public treaties entered into with New Granada, to guarantee positively and effectually to this republic its rights of sovereignty and ownership over the territory of the Isthmus of Panamá, and the perfect neutrality of said Isthmus, to the end that the free transit from one sea to another may never be interrupted or embarrassed." Captain Pim says, in reference to the intention of the Americans to make the Panamá route exclusive, and convert their leasehold into a freehold—"An unmistakable exposition of the popular determination in this matter has lately been given by the seizure of Confederates upon neutral ground, and their forcible conveyance as prisoners across the Panamá Railway, in direct violation of the neutrality of New Granada; remonstance and protest only eliciting the startling reply that the line was held to be the property of the United States."* But in this matter our gallant sailor and author has been misinformed. The facts were that three Confederate prisoners were brought down from San Francisco, and forcibly taken across the Isthmus as prisoners by the Federal officers in charge of them; but it is also true that the Govern-

* "Gate of the Pacific."

ment of the United States immediately disapproved of the act, and apologised to the Government of New Granada for the unauthorized violation of the neutrality which had been committed by the officer in command of the United States troops, by whom the prisoners were brought to Panamá. Again, on a subsequent occasion, in 1864,* the United States consul at Panamá, *asked the permission* of the President of the State to convey across the Isthmus an American prisoner.

Again too in this year we have had, I submit, an "unmistakable exposition" of the intention of the Federal Government of the United States not to violate the neutrality of the United States of Colombia, by the proceedings of the American officials in the matter of the Confederate prisoners seized on board the Panamá Railroad Company's steamer. We have seen in a preceding chapter, that permission was asked of the local authorities for the conveyance of these prisoners across the Isthmus, and that it was refused. This did not "elicit the startling reply that the line was held to be the property of the United States," but, on the contrary, the American admiral and American consul had the good sense and judgment to submit to the decision of the President of the State of Panamá —a decision too which that functionary had no power to enforce. The prisoners which were to have been sent by way of the Panamá Railway to New York were actually sent to San Francisco.

From these facts it will be seen, that whatever the

* April, 1864.

Americans may be supposed to aspire to, they have not yet set aside the neutrality of the State through which the railway runs, or assumed the line to be the property of the United States.

With apparently more reason does the author of the "Gate of the Pacific" quote that part of the Colonial Secretary's speech, on the occasion when the Duke of Newcastle said, that when there was an apprehension of hostilities with the United States, he was unable to communicate with the Governor of British Columbia for the space of six weeks, there being the possible chance of any despatches sent *viâ* Panamá falling into hostile hands; but even this, I take it, referred as much to the risk in conveyance of the despatches from Panamá to British Columbia, as in their transit across the Isthmus. If we are to have perfect security for English correspondence to British Columbia in time of war with America, we must have other than American ships to carry our letters over half the route.

The greater development of the resources of Peru, Chili, Mexico, and Central America, and the growth of cotton in these countries, have now begun to attract the attention of commercial men in the Old World, as well as in the United States, and we have seen, in a few short months, no less than three new lines of British steamers established between Liverpool and Colon. These lines have since, I believe, amalgamated under the direction of one company; but a fortnightly communication, or one thrice a month, has been main-

tained from England, in addition to the packets twice a month of the Royal Mail Company.

But Panamá has been particularly brought under the notice of England and English travellers of late by the establishment of the colony of British Columbia, and the reports of the recent gold discoveries therein. During the year 1862 particularly, hardly a steamer arrived at the Atlantic port of the Isthmus that did not bring a hundred or two of stout young Englishmen full of life and energy, bound for the new colony. Even the British volunteer was tempted to take his rifle thither, while colonels in the army and post-captains in the navy, who were prepared to rough it, started as deck passengers, and inured themselves to the hardships of life at the diggings by a course of the discomforts of steerage passages on board the steamers. It is to be regretted that so many of those who so left have been disappointed and deceived; but not the less will British Columbia become a great and important colony, and a valuable possession to the mother country, and, on this account, has a free transit route become all-important to us.

These circumstances have awakened us to the importance of the Panamá route. It has been said that "had this line proved to be a commercial failure, there might possibly have arisen a chance of effecting an arrangement with the Americans, its owners, so as to convert it into a highway permanently free to the whole world. But instead of being a failure, the line is paying from fifteen to twenty per cent., and the

question is, shall England go on traversing this route, and becoming familiar with this mode of transmitting her commerce and her mails on a sufferance which may in time of war be suddenly withdrawn; or will she not rather resolve to lose no time in carrying a route through available districts on another part of the Isthmus, establishing it on guarantees of unrestricted freedom?"* Put in this way it appears certainly a grave question; and Captain Pim places the matter in a very strong light, when he says, "If the Panamá route were a great highway of nations open to the whole world, there would be no cause of disquiet or distrust on the part of England." In discussing the question, however, we do better to first take facts as they exist, rather than as they may become. First, then, the railway is simply owned by a private company, the shares of which are, it is said, more than half held by Englishmen.

Secondly, it is at present utterly out of the power of the company to withhold to one nation more than to another the right of the transit. Nor could, I take it, the American Government do so unless it swallowed up the little republic of New Granada. But to suppose that France and England, with the vast interests these nations have at stake in keeping the Panamá route as it has hitherto been, a great highway of nations, open to the whole world, would look quietly on and see the Isthmus, at least, so swallowed up, is to take a great deal for granted. If the Americans, in

* "Saturday Review."

a war with England, "which," as the treaties say, "God forbid," were strong enough to keep men-of-war at the termini of the railroad, or otherwise take possession of the line to the exclusion of English commerce and mails, and in spite of any force which England could oppose, it is difficult to see what is to prevent the same being done with any other route "carried through available districts on another part of the Isthmus." This is assuming too much, and showing a white feather to the Yankees for which our naval officers generally would not thank us. But if the once United States were to *annex* Panamá, the question would of course assume another aspect; and this is the only case in which I can imagine the railway becoming other than "a highway permanently free to the whole world." Up to the present time, therefore, we have to admit that the railway is constructed on a neutral territory; that the American Government is not, nor ever has been, the owner of that territory; that during the ten years which the railway has been in operation, it has been perfectly free and open to all nations on equal terms with the American. This is unquestionably the state of things as far as they have yet gone; and if this state of things be maintained, there is no very great grievance. It must be our look-out to see that it is so maintained. Whether this would be more effectually done by an unmistakable and declared determination on the part of England and France to protect the neutrality of the Isthmus, or whether these nations should join hand-in-hand

with the American nation, and so purchase together an indefinite extension of the railway grant, are questions out of my province to discuss; but it appears to me that the time has now arrived for the matter to be settled whilst it admits of settlement, so that there may be no question, a few years hence, as to our right of way, or as to the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panamá. Allowing that the question admits of settlement on such easy terms as either of these, what then have we lost by losing the Panamá Railroad? Firstly, from English want of confidence in the integrity of our American cousins, we have certainly lost the enjoyment of that feeling of security which we should have had, had the railway been owned by New Granadians, by ourselves, by French, by Germans, or by the people of any nation other than the American. Secondly, as we ourselves lost it—for we were among the earliest bidders for it—we lost that *prestige* which such an enterprise naturally gives to an old country in a new one, and with this we have consequently lost the lion's share of the profits; for of course the Americans hold a large number of shares. We have lost, too, the direction and management of the affair. English passengers and even English mails must be in little things *second* to American passengers and American mails, and must wait the convenience of the arrangements which are made for the Americans. But I hold that it is quite within our power to limit these losses, and keep them within bounds. If this can be done, we have the route with which we are "becoming familiar-

ized," ready cut and dried for our present use, and for all time to come.

Surely some such arrangement as this is more feasible than that of attempting an opposition route on another part of the Isthmus, the expense of which would be enormous, and the profits of which, by its most sanguine supporters, can only be based and calculated upon the profits of the existing route. But how would not these profits dwindle into losses when the one line would be opposing the other with all the self-destroying energy of the American steam-ship lines, of which we have had over and over again examples. And then a railway too of 161 miles in length to compete with one 47½ miles long! Let us take Captain Pim's own description of the Panamá Railway—it is as good as any other—of this line of 47½ miles, and we shall at least be able to form an idea of the nature of such an undertaking in the neighbourhood of the Isthmus of Panamá.

"The work of the Panamá Railroad," says Captain Pim, "commenced in January, 1850, and was finished on the 28th January, 1855, having occupied five years in completing. The nature of the country through which the line of road had to be carried, was calculated to strike the hardiest speculator with dismay. The first thirteen miles from the Atlantic led through deep swamps covered with jungle, full of reptiles and venomous insects. Further on, the line ran through a rugged country, over rapid rivers and all sorts of impediments; and, after passing the summit, descended

rapidly to the Pacific. The climate also was sultry, beyond almost any other part of the world, while during the wet season the rains descended in a perfect deluge. Moreover, to crown all, the resources of the country were found to be *nil*, or nearly so, and consequently everything, especially labour, had to be imported. Despite all these obstacles, the undertaking was commenced; and, under the able superintendence of Colonel G. M. Totten, one of the boldest and grandest enterprises of modern times was successfully completed.

"The total length of the road is 47 miles 3020 feet. It runs on the right or easterly bank of the Chagres, as far as Barbacoas, where it crosses the river by a bridge 625 feet in length, 18 feet in breadth, and 40 feet above the main level of the river. This bridge is of wrought-iron, and is exactly midway between Aspinwall and Panamá; and it is not a little singular that the bridge thrown across the Nile between Alexandria and Cairo is also exactly half-way; in other words, both the great Isthmus transits of the world are intersected at half their length by a large river. The Barbacoas bridge is of six spans, built of boiler-iron, with a top and bottom cord 2 feet in breadth and 1 inch in thickness, joined by a web of boiler-iron 9 feet in height at the centre and 7 at the ends. The rails are laid on iron floor-girders 3 feet apart, and the whole structure is supported by five piers and two abutments 26 feet wide and 8 feet in thickness, increasing in the proportion of an

inch to the foot down to their foundations, which are constructed of piles and concrete.

"The highest point of the line is 37¾ miles from the Atlantic, and is 263 feet above the mean level of that ocean. The maximum grade on the Atlantic slope is 1 in 90; on the Pacific descent it is rather more—namely, 1 in 88.

"Of the road, 23⅔ miles are level and 28⅗ straight, but there are some very abrupt curves. There are no less than 134 culverts, drains, and bridges of 10 feet and under, and as many as 170 bridges from 12 feet span to 625 feet span.

"The line is a single one, but there are four commodious sidings, viz., one at Gatun, 7½ miles from Aspinwall; one near Barbacoas, 22 miles; one at Malachin, 30 miles; and one at the summit, 37 miles. Experience has proved that there is no difficulty in keeping the line in order at a reasonable expense, but, on the contrary, that it continues in better condition than similar works in Northern latitudes, where the climate appears to have a more injurious effect than within the tropics."

Stations occur at every four miles. The house is the residence of the track-master, who, with ten labourers, has charge of the intervening mileage. The road is kept in perfect order by these men. There are 12 track-masters and 120 labourers in the employ of the company, solely to look after the security of the line. Their wages are—track-masters, three dollars per diem; labourers, 60 cents.

The staff of the company is not very extensive, the civil engineers, with their assistants and managing clerks, constituting the greatest expense. The strictest economy, consistent with efficiency, is practised: for example, there are excellent locomotive shops at Aspinwall, in which the engineers and stokers, when not at work on the railroad, are employed; and it is said that the business done in effecting the necessary repairs for steamers calling at the bay almost supports the engineering staff and working locomotive expenses of the company.

"A substantial telegraph is established between Aspinwall and Panamá. There are twenty-six posts to the mile, constructed in the following manner:—A scantling, four inches square, of pitch-pine, is encased in cement, moulded in a cylindrical form, tapering towards the top, and sunk four feet in the ground. I was assured that when once dry these posts would last for ages. The cost of each was five dollars, about £1 sterling. They have the appearance of hewn stone, and are quite an ornament along the line.

"The total expenditure of the Panamá Railway Company amounted to 7,407,553 dollars, or rather more than £1,500,000 sterling, which is very nearly £32,000 per mile, an expense, by the by, below the average of our English lines, which is £34,638 per mile.

"Very few undertakings have paid better than the Panamá Railway—a return of 15 per cent. to the shareholders is acknowledged."*

* "The Gate of the Pacific."

The following article, which was communicated to the "Panamá Star and Herald,"* appears to refute the arguments of the author of the "Gate of the Pacific:"—

"Capt. Bedford Pim, of H. B. M.'s Navy, has just published a work with the above title. The burden of his labours seems to be to prove the necessity of England having a canal or railroad of her own, adducing as a late and most cogent reason the *fear* that the railroad officials would have intercepted English despatches during the excitement caused by the 'Trent affair.' Now we are not aware that either the English Government or English passengers have ever had aught to complain of from want of faith or want of courtesy on the part of the company. Be this as it may, we believe everybody is, up to the present, well convinced that if Nicaragua, from its lake, is the best place for a canal, the Isthmus of Panamá offers the greatest facilities for a railroad. The lowness of its summit-level counterbalances any superiority as to inter-oceanic distance other parts of the Isthmus might possess. The same topographical reasons which caused the Spaniards to prefer their line of inter-oceanic communication between Panamá and Chagres in preference to the shorter absolute distance between San Miguel and Caledonia Bays are no less powerful at the present day, whether the question be by canal or rail; no explorations on any part of the Isthmus have thrown the least discredit on the sagacity of the Spaniards, or

* Panamá "Star and Herald," April 10, 1863.

prove that they had not selected the only and most suitable part of the Isthmus.

"If, with all these advantages, the construction of the Panama Railroad was found to be no easy matter, we may well despair of seeing a canal in Nicaragua, though backed by the Emperor of the French.

"Capt. Pim, admitting this, recommends the construction of a railroad across Central America from Gorgon Bay in the Atlantic to Realejo in the Pacific. The distance, though some five times that of the Panamá Railroad, he thinks would be counterbalanced by the consequent local development of the resources of the country. We spent some years in that country, and are certain that, so far as the natives are concerned, their improvements, whether in land or trade, affecting the profits of the proposed railway, will be on a par with what can be seen among the new Granadians, and that is—*nil.*

"However, as the road is to be made by England, and open to all nations, that might be overlooked. We know the Mosquito Coast to be exceedingly unhealthy. That labour will be found abundant and cheap, as well as materials, has not yet been proved; and that the expense of the road per mile shall therefore be so much less than that of the Panamá Railroad, has also to be tested. That the rapidly increasing importance of New Zealand and Australia will sooner or later demand the establishment of a route *per Isthmus* is clear enough; but we see no reason why a friendly union between Englishmen and Americans necessarily should be in-

terrupted, or that arrangements might not be entered into for the joint use and extension of the existing Panamá Railroad, instead of seeking other transits where great inter-oceanic distances must always render more or less questionable any other advantages they may be expected to possess or develop hereafter.

"It is true that the public mind of England has never fairly recognised the importance of the Isthmus, either to themselves or anybody else; neither the sad failure of the Scotch colony, nor the exploits of her buccaniers and early navigators have been sufficient to turn her attention from the 'barbaric splendour' of her Eastern conquests. It was reserved for the Americans. They are fairly entitled to the credit as well as the profit of the enterprise. But that is no reason why we should not join with her in the further extension of an enterprise for the benefit of all the world, any more than we use her steam-ploughs, or watch the doings of her iron-clad war-vessels."

Capt. Pim thinks his railway might be carried through for a million sterling! In the Appendix is a translation of the contract with the Government of Nicaragua. Those who are interested on the subject cannot do better than compare it with the contract of the Panamá Railway Company with the Government of New Granada. If we must have a railway to ourselves, it is only a question of money. The Panamá extension is now up at auction, and may probably be obtained by the highest bidder. The following is the opinion

of the President of the United States of Colombia on the subject, given on the 14th May, 1864 :—

"" OPINION OF THE CITIZEN PRESIDENT OF THE UNION ON THE SALE OF THE RIGHT OF RANSOM FROM THE PANAMÁ RAILROAD.

"U.S. of Colombia, National Executive Power, Sec. of Internal and Foreign Affairs.

" *To the Secretary of the Senate Chamber.*

"I have communicated to the President of the Union your official despatch of 10th inst., accompanied by the copy of a project of law, authorizing the opening of negotiations with the Panamá Railroad Company on the rights which the nation has in said enterprise, in which you state that the Senate had resolved to suspend the deliberation until the Citizen President should utter an opinion on the utility of its adoption.

" In reply I have received instructions to say :

" The Executive Power believes it expedient to legislate on the subject; it thinks that the sale of the right of ransom which the nation reserved to itself by the third article of the contract of privileges, ought to be effected, and that an extension of fifty years more ought to be insured. But it judges also that the opening of negotiations ought not to be limited to the proposal that the company, which at the present has the privilege, may make, but that purchasers and lessees should be sought in all the principal industrial marts of Europe and America.

" In effecting the sale there should, besides, be stipulated *various concessions in behalf of the revenue* of the State of Panamá, such as the tax on passengers, and others in favour of the traffic between our Atlantic and Pacific ports, and *vice versâ*; thus also the stipulations that the Government of the company purchasing should grant its approval of the contract, and should constitute itself by the same act a guarantee of the neutrality of the Isthmus in all international wars.

" To be convinced of the utility of selling the right of ransom, it is sufficient to note that the republic obtains at present from the enterprise most productive, and consequently most valuable on the 'Changes of New York and London, only the insignificant sum of 18,000 dollars annually, more or less, when it is evident that without the monopoly of the road, which is the property of the nation, said enterprise could not produce even the half of the profits which it obtains from being exclusively privileged, and the construction of another channel of communication by land or water on the Isthmus not being allowed.

" Such a sum, the proceeds of three per cent. on the net profits of the enterprise, is not even sufficient to maintain the garrison at Panamá, indispensable to meet the exigencies for the security of the transit, which the nation is compromised to afford, and much less for the claims of indemnity for injuries, such as those which rose out of the fray between some of the inhabitants of the Isthmus and some passengers on

the 15th April, 1855, and which, with conspicuous injustice, the last Slave Administration of the U. S. of America compelled us to pay.

" If, then, the nation had not reserved to itself the right of ransoming the road at the end of the first twenty years, for 5,000,000 dollars, the contract of privileges would be the most onerous that could be conceived for us, inasmuch as during these first twenty years, our treasury, far from having gained, has been burdened by the existence of the railroad, and this without taking into consideration the humiliation saddled on the republic by the stationing, almost permanently, of foreign ships of war, which, alleging the necessity of protecting their countrymen, have not unfrequently endeavoured to meddle in the internal government of the State or attempted to embarrass its action.

" For the same reasons the utility of selling the reserved rights is to the President of the Union, incontrovertible; and if, at the end of twenty years, that is to say, more or less within eleven years, they have not been sold, it will be indispensable to search for the 5,000,000 of dollars to give them to the company, that the nation may become the exclusive owner of the road, to manage it of itself, or to sell it as may seem most profitable.

" Besides, it would be convenient at once to sell the reserved rights and an extension of privileges for fifty years, because the nation has other industrial wants which it is compulsory to meet soon.

" In order to calculate the price, the President is of opinion that there ought to be taken into account the proceeds of the enterprise in the year 1861, the year in which the relation between the currency of the United States of America and the value of gold and silver in the general commerce of the world had not been altered, and the year of the most moderate profits, and, for the same reason, the least open to objection. According to the company's balance, it appears that the cost of constructing the road was 8,000,000 dollars, and it produced in that year 1,575,475 dollars. Deducting expenses there remained 963,811 dollars 89c. of net profits—that is to say, somewhat more than twelve per cent. per annum.

" Furthermore, in similar industrial enterprises without an exclusive privilege, no one expects ordinarily to obtain an interest of more than six per cent. on the capital invested, so that even admitting, because of locality, that an interest of eight per cent. ought to be recognised, the four per cent. additionally gained in this speculation represents the monopoly of the transit, a monopoly which pertains only to the sovereign of the country. Taking the calculation from the balance of the year 1861, that interest of the monopoly was 321,170 dollars 63c. By selling the reserved rights, we sell a rent equivalent at least to that annual sum during twenty-nine years, and the same, if not more, during the years of the extension. But admitting still further that the administration of the enterprise and other considerations demand that the

third part of that sum should remain with the company purchasing, the other two-thirds, which amount to 214,160 dollars, will fall incontrovertibly to the nation in each year.

" Furthermore, as it is considered to sell, in anticipation by ten or eleven years, the right to this annual income, the calculation of price has to be modified, especially if it be desired to have a precise sum on which to rely in contracting, say, for a railroad in the interior.

" It is on such considerations and moderate calculations that the President would desire that authority be given to negotiate and to sell. Verbally, when the Senate engages in the discussion of this project, I shall have the honor to enter on the details which the business may require, according to the tenor of the instructions which I have received from the Citizen President."

In entering thus fully into the question of the Panamá Railroad versus any other route, it is unnecessary for me to state that I have no interest in the matter one way or another, beyond that which every Englishman naturally feels when there is an interest for his country. I have no new line to propose, no limited liability company to originate, nor have I the least desire to write up the present route beyond its merits; but on a question in which Englishmen generally appear to be so much in the dark it seems to me no less than a duty to throw in what light I can.

The " Daily News," of the 12th January of this

year says: "The Panamá Railroad is excessively expensive, the danger to person and property is considerable from the barbarism of the people collected there, and the delays and impediments are serious."

The reader of these pages will now be able to judge for himself with what reason or justice such comments are made.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Natural Resources of the Isthmus.

THE able reports collected by Mr. Powles, the Chairman of the Committee of Spanish American Bondholders in London, give various and conflicting evidence as to the most desirable points for the selection of the lands offered by the New Granadian Government to the bondholders in 1861. The Isthmus of Panamá has been, however, very generally favourably spoken of, and some of these reports contain so much interesting information connected with the subject I have in hand, that I may be pardoned for transcribing those relating to the Isthmus of Panamá to these pages, the more so as it will enable my readers to form a better idea of the properties of the Isthmus than I could convey from my own personal experience. As Mr. Powles tells us:

"The Government of New Granada concluded an arrangement in March, 1861, with the holders of the bonds of its foreign debt, by which it assigned to them certain lands, being national property, in satisfaction of certain concessions of interest made by the

bondholders. In other words, it paid a portion of its debt to the bondholders in land.

"The parties interested in this debt have, of necessity, a special interest in examining into the capabilities of the lands which they have thus acquired, and seeing how they can best be turned to account.

"In order to obtain particulars of the lands belonging to the State throughout the republic, Mr. Birchall, acting as agent of the Committee of Bondholders, was requested to apply to the Government for information thereon, which is contained in the following communication from the Secretary of Finance to Mr. Birchall."*

Extract, referring to Panamá, from Report, prepared purposely by the Chorographic Commission, for the service of the Committee of Spanish-American Bondholders resident in London:

"This State, the best situated of any in the Union, as it possesses an immense sea-coast upon both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, has above 4,650,000 hectares of waste lands. The climate of the State is hot and healthy in some parts, in others cold and healthy, and in others (the fewest) damp and rather unhealthy: but in general more healthy than Algeria and other parts of the African coast upon the Mediterranean.

"The soil of the State is very metalliferous, and there are fisheries on the coast of valuable pearls, tortoise-shells, &c. There are many favourable spots for the cultivation of cotton on a large scale, and the same

* New Granada; its Internal Resources. By J. D. Powles, Esq.

may be said of cocoa (*Theobroma cacao*), sugar-cane, coffee, &c. Dye-woods abound, as well as timber for ship-building and furniture-work, resins, officinal plants.

Most advantageous points exist on both oceans for the establishment of commercial ports, and lands filled with natural riches, which will double in value the day that the inter-oceanic canal shall be opened to give passage to the productions of Europe, Africa, and America towards Asia and Oceania, and the reverse."

Statement of Waste Lands, and their description, calculated in leagues of New Granada of 6,250 *yards, same measurement, equivalent to* 5,000 *metres French measurement, applicable to each State, with the total extent of each; also in New Granada square leagues, which are in the proportion of rather more than* 21 *leagues of New Granada to each degree containing* 20 *leagues of* 60 *nautical miles.*

States.	Savanas.	Level Lands and Woods.	High Forest Lands.	Wild Lands.	Low Lands.	Moor and Marsh.	Islands.	Total Waste Lands.	Entire Area of each State.
Panama .	..	408	1277	..	15	10	55	1765	3307

The following is extracted from the report of Mr. Bennett, Civil Engineer, who was professionally occupied in New Granada in 1853 and 1854, addressed to the Committee of Spanish-American Bondholders, in June, 1861. He says:

"My knowledge of New Granada is derived from personal observation during professional engagements there in the years 1853 and 1854, and extends over the Isthmus of Darien, the entire delta of the Magdalena, its course to Honda; and the triangle between

Guaruino and Guatiqui on the river and Bogotá. I have also a general knowledge of—the result of close inquiry into—the resources of the remainder of the country.

" In the year 1854 there were no exports from the Isthmus of Darien except a few ounces of gold, though there is abundance of apparently good timber.

" With reference to the most desirable point for the holders of land warrants to select in, I am decidedly of opinion that the Isthmus of Darien, from its commercial and strategetical position, will ultimately become a most important locality; and that though no immediate return would be derivable from its possession except from the sale of the timber, it would be impossible to estimate the value which this strip of land may—in fact, must—attain in a few years. It must ultimately become the main highway between the two oceans; it is the shortest and most direct route; no other terminal harbours in Central America will bear comparison with Port Ecossais or San Miguel, either as respects safety, facilities for loading and unloading, or that most important element of success on this coast, salubrity.

" It would be impossible for me to state where I would recommend selections in any other part of New Granada, so much depends on what land is open for selection, and the purposes for which it will be selected. Even with the assistance of a map showing the " Tierras Baldias," the climate and soil vary

so much in very short distances, that I could give no absolute opinion as to the value of any particular site."

Extract from the report of His Excellency Don Juan de Francisco Martin, New Granadian Minister in London, addressed to the Chairman of the Committee of Spanish-American Bondholders, in May, 1858:

"In the Isthmus of Panamá, whose present population consists only of 150,000 souls, the Government of New Granada possesses four millions of acres of waste lands to dispose of, which lands or their products are to be applied to the redemption of the foreign debt. Those lands are situated in the province of Panamá, Veraguas, and Chiriqui. The temperature is between 24° and 27° Centigrade, and in general healthy, although hot; only the cantons of Chágres, Cruses, Gorgona, Pacora,* Colon, and Portobelo, are unhealthy. Their present productions consist in Indian corn (maize), rice, beans, nutritious roots, plantains, sugar-canes, coffee, cacao, cocoa-nuts (such as produce much oil), cotton, sarsaparilla, straw of jipijapa for making hats, pearl-fishery, mother-of-pearl, and tortoise-shell. In the provinces of Veraguas and Chiriqui there are large plains with excellent pastures for the breeding of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, horses, mules, and asses, in which the two provinces abound, being of easy procreation. In the province of Veraguas, whose temperature is altogether very healthy, there

* Pacora is not considered by residents on the Isthmus as unhealthy, indeed, many of the families from Panamá resort thither in the dry season for an agreeable change of climate.

are many "diggings," and very rich gold-mines, the gold being of the standard fineness; there are also coal-mines, and an abundance of live stock.

"That land wants only population to develop its immense riches. The forests furnish resins and balsams, fine wood and timber for ship-building, so that in clearing the forests their produce will yield more than the expenses. A well-organized undertaking for colonization would leave great profit, as also proportionally to the emigrants, inasmuch as with the produce of the ground they could in a few years pay for the value of the land and appurtenances (tools, &c.) which had been apportioned to them.

"The general productions near the coast consist of live stock, rice, Indian corn (maize), cotton, sugar-cane, fustic wood and Brazil (called of Riohaca), tortoise-shell, some cacao and coffee, sarsaparilla, mother-of-pearl, tobacco, balsam of tolu and copaiba, cocoa-nuts and cocoa-oil, cedars, mahogany, ship-timber, and ebony-wood. In the interior they grow cotton, cacao, coffee, tobacco, vanilla, indigo, wheat, Indian corn (maize), and rice, potatoes, and other nutritious roots. There is an abundance of mines of salt, gold, silver, copper, and iron, and one of emeralds; platina is also found in the province of Chocó. Horned cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, horses, and mules propagate considerably in the interior, the pastures being excellent.

Extract from the report of Don Luis Santa Maria, New Granadian Consul at Liverpool, addressed to the Committee in May, 1858:

"In the Isthmus of Panamá there are several places where the climate is, in my opinion, healthier than in many of the West India Islands, Jamaica included.

"The Isthmus of Panamá has borne the repute of being a very unhealthy climate; but, although I have not been there, I understand that there are several localities where the climate is exceedingly healthy. In that Isthmus there are several localities—for example, Bocas del Toro, on the Atlantic side; and just on the opposite side, on the Pacific, there is Bahia Honda—that must, in the course of time, become most important places for agriculture and commerce.

"One of the branches of the Andes divides the two seas just there; and it seems to me certain, that at a certain height on that part of the Andes, a very healthy climate must be found, with the great advantage that the produce raised there can be shipped from either of the two seas at very little expense. There are gold mines in the Isthmus which are not worked at present for want of labour and capital.

"I know that excellent cotton may be grown on the banks of the River Atrato, province of Chocó, where gold and platina mines are abundant, with a navigable river, and said mines are scarcely worked at present for want of hands and capital."

The following is extracted from an elaborate report on the "Physical and Political Geography of the State of Panamá, drawn up by a Commission despatched thither for that purpose by the Government of New Granada in 1859:

[TRANSLATION.]

"I shall here only speak of the principal ports, and of them in the order of their size, which is in no way in proportion to their commercial importance. This latter quality is only possessed by two points, through which the Isthmus may be rapidly crossed by the railway, constructed in the narrowest part of the Isthmus, which unites the two Americas. Colon and Panamá are the ports most advantageous for commerce.

"In the North Sea the principal places are the Bay of Almirante, and the Lagoon of Chiriqui; then come the Gulf of San Blas, Caledonia, Colon, and Portobelo. There are twenty-five smaller ports.

"On the Pacific are the Gulf of San Miguel, that of Montijo, and the small gulf in the Golfo-Dulce. There are thirty small ports, and among them must be mentioned Boca-Chica, on account of the trade which it carries on with David.

"CLIMATE.

"The climate of Panamá varies considerably; in some parts it is hot and healthy, in others damp and unhealthy, and again in others fresh, or even cold and salubrious.

"Along all the coast, from the borders of Costa-Rica to the Gulf of Urabá, the climate is hot and damp, and very prejudicial to the white race; this proceeds from the inundations, and even more from

the plantations of mangrove-trees that are met with on the coast, and their noxious exhalations. To this must be added excessive heat and damp caused by the frequent rains, and by the moist vapours of the sea, which the prevailing winds sweep over the woods, by which all this part of the country is covered. This does not happen in any part of the Pacific. From Panamá to Cape Burica, where there are neither woods nor inundations, but where it is grass-lands, watered by rivers, and nearly all inhabited, the temperature is hot but not damp, and is conducive to health. The mountains are cool and healthy, but entirely uninhabited, as much in the southern part, which is grassy, as in the northern, which is covered with woods. The part of the coast from Panamá to the borders of Chocó is unhealthy; the interior of Darien is also rather so, and only the black population, or that mixed with Indians, can resist this very rainy and hot climate, so damp from the inundations which vitiate the atmosphere. Although the mountains of Darien are low, and the temperature cool, yet the the country cannot yet be called healthy, nor will it be so until the great forests shall have disappeared. In Portobelo the climate is unhealthy; the heat is excessive from the stillness of the air, and from the fortress being surrounded by high mountains; it is also exposed to noxious exhalations from vegetable matter both on land and water. The nights are as suffocating as the days, accompanied with torrents of rain, thunder, and flashes of lightning, which

terrify the mind of a European on his arrival in this country.

"AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURE.

"Maize is the chief produce in all parts of the Isthmus, and next to it is rice, which, before the railroad was begun, was exported to Costa-Rica, and to all parts of Chiriqui. As to vegetables, there seems to be a tolerable quantity of beans, but barely sufficient for the consumption of each province; and only in consequence of the frequent passing through of travellers, and the increased numbers of workmen on the railway, have they begun to sow larger quantities, and send the produce to Panamá. In all these provinces there are produced, in more or less abundance, hemp, quimboles,* vetches, yucca, plantain, name, otó, cainete, coffee, cocoa, ahnyamas, cotton, and sugar-cane, from which they obtain molasses and brandy; there is also a fair quantity of cocales, from which oil is extracted. These flourish very well, and might cover the desert coasts, and become valuable property at hardly any cost; their produce, compared with other things, cocoa for example, returns double profit. As for the cultivation of sugar-cane, cocoa, coffee, and cotton, from which great advantage might be derived, it is as yet completely in its infancy; the produce is hardly sufficient for a very small consumption, whereas

* For many of these words corresponding terms cannot be found in English.

it might be largely exported, and with immense profit, on account of the facility of maritime transport, and the large commercial port of Panamá.

"As to manufactures, they are hardly worth mentioning; they consist of straw and cotton hammocks, common linen, hats of white and yellow straw, bags of aloe-thread, bags and ropes of the maguey-tree, and riding-saddles. They manufacture good bricks, which they export, and earthenware vessels of different kinds. They make baskets and mats; they have tan-yards; and build ships, or canoes for one oar, of different sizes. They also make soap and candles.

"The reason that, in the whole State of Panamá, no large estates are met with is, that from within a few leagues of Panamá to the west coast, the whole country is subdivided among all the inhabitants; the king of Spain having given all the land, from the summit of the mountains to the sea, with the exception of the islands, to the inhabitants at that epoch, in consideration of a small sum which they were to pay into the royal *caisse*. Not only do the descendants of the inhabitants of those days possess a right in these lands, but also all those now dwelling there, and all who may go to settle there; so that, as it seems to me, the longer delay that occurs in making a repartimiento of the lands in the Isthmus among the inhabitants, the more will these latter suffer in the quantity that can be assigned them; and, besides, progress is thus constantly delayed and hindered in this country. Where there is no individual property, but all is in

common, there can be no agricultural establishments of any importance. It follows, that whoever obtains a certain quantity of land to inclose for cultivation or the breeding of horses, acquires a right in it, and will keep it, on account of the portion that may fall to him in the general repartimiento. As to the plains devoted to the breeding of cattle, if they do not adopt the just method of fixing the number of head of cattle to be kept in every square league, according as the pasture shall be more or less abundant, they will considerably prejudice the increase of their herds.

"MINES.

"In the province of Panamá, gold is extracted from the rivers Marea and Balsas by the few negroes and mulattoes who live in the south of Darien. There is a tradition of the celebrated mines of Cana, or Espíritu Santo, near Fuira, which were destroyed by the side of the mountain Espíritu Santo, and were deserted because the miners had not sufficient wealth to put them in order again, and also on account of the attacks of the Indians and filibusters then to be met with on the coast of North Darien. Formerly these mines were called Potosí, on account of the abundance and superior quality of the gold; for with the fifth part alone the position of Panamá was maintained, the mines yielding annually 100,000 castellanos of gold, according to the accounts left us of those times. There is now no road leading to these mines. Gold mines

are being explored in the mountains of the rivers Cócle and Bélen, Rio de los Indios, and in their tributaries. The mine of San Antonio, in Cócle, is the best known; but they hardly extract 40,000 dollars a year, the gold being deposited from inundations, and of good quality. But by far the most productive are the salt mines of this province, without reckoning the rich mines contained at the bottom of the sea, in the islands of the Pearl Archipelago, and other points of the coast, where it appears that the bed of the ocean is paved with the large shells of pearls annually collected by the divers inhabiting these islands. If they do not find pearls, they make a good profit by the shells, selling them for mother-of-pearl. They obtain annually more than a million of these shells. It appears that the pearl is produced in these marine mollusks accidentally, and not, as some think, by disease in the animal or the shell. It happens occasionally that the shell is pierced by some insect, when the animal, feeling the necessity of repairing the injury done to its habitation, accumulates in the perforated spot the calcareous matter which it secretes or transpires through its skin; and the abundance of this matter produces the substance which is the real pearl. All shells have some holes in them, but only in those where the piercing has penetrated to the interior, where the animal lives, do they find pearls, larger or smaller, according to the time during which the secretion of the calcareous matter has been accumulating; and if the perforating insects have pierced to

the interior in two or three places, there will be found in formation, or formed, two or three pearls.

"The first pearls seen by Vasco Nunez de Balboa were presented to him by the Cacque Famaco. The pearl-fishery has always been very dangerous on account of the sharks, tintoreras, mantas, and guazas, to which the divers often fall victims. In the time of the Spaniards, slaves trained to diving were employed to find the pearls, and these slaves were obliged to deliver a certain number of pearls to their masters, reserving for their own profit all that were beyond the number; being, however, obliged to sell such overplus to their employers. Now this dangerous branch of industry is altogether free, for although the English have formed a contract excluding the inhabitants, nothing has come of it; the machines sent out are only useful in getting the shells from the bottom of the ocean, but they cannot get into the cavities where the oysters are fastened to the rocks in such great numbers. The diver with his net, made in the shape of a bag, and fastening himself to a cord, the end of which he places in the hands of the rowers with a stone weight to make it drop more quickly, jumps over the side of the boat, which contains usually from six to eight rowers with as many divers; they remain under water from two to four minutes, sometimes even for longer. When his net is full of shells, the diver pulls the rope to which he is fastened, and by it is helped to rise; but sometimes blood flows from his ears and nostrils.

"In the province of Aznero, besides the abundant

salt-mines, there are gold-mines in the mountains of the village of Las Fablas, and round that of Las Minas, which have not been explored. There are signs of iron and copper, and also occasionally of lime.

"There are gold-mines in the province of Veragua. Those which have been examined because their produce made it worth the trouble, are the mines of Veragua, where a population has established itself. Gold is also found in Soná and Lovaina, working only in the old mines, and many of these are entirely neglected as those at the head of the river San Mariá, on the river Virgina, and in the ruined San Juan, in the parish of Cañaza, but all these mines do not now yield 60,000 dollars.

"Mines of salt, copper, iron, gypsum, lime, and coal abound. In the districts of Santiago and Calobre there are hot springs.

"In the province of Chiriqui there are coal-mines near the Boca del Toro, and in the Golfo-Dulce. There are copper-mines near San Feles, and near the road going from Boca del Toro to David; there are iron mines in the mountain of San Cristobal, and near this city some gold has been discovered near Gulaca and San Lorenzo, but of little importance. Hot springs are found at the sources of the river Changuiñola to the north of Volcan, at the foot of the mountain Castillo, near the river Chiriqui, where the Vayes flows into it, in the plain of Mendez near the pass of Las Yegnas, in Pan de Azúca, and on the banks of the river Gallequi near San Feles.

"WOODS OF REPUTE FOR BUILDING, ESPECIALLY SHIP-BUILDING.

"Timber of excellent kinds and enormous size is found in South Darien, and in great abundance also on all the mountains on the Pacific and Atlantic coast, and in the islands of both seas; I will mention them by the names given to them in the Isthmus.

"The cacique, superior to the diomate and the tamarisk in hardness and beauty; the corotu and espané, good timber for ship-building, because insects do not pierce them; caimito, nueso, macauo, the strawberry-tree, the small orange-tree, vala, and the laurel, all excellent for building and polishing; as also the mulberry and lignum-vitæ, which are imperishable. The medlar and the thorn, which give the best boards known; the cocoa-tree, the orange and the apple trees, for house-building. The black, yellow, and variegated mahogany, rosewood, rose-tree, quir, coco-bobo, and the yellow oak, which is not subject to decay; as also the other oak, excellently adapted for ship-building. The olive-tree (*manzanillo*), of which the fruit or shade is so poisonous as to produce swelling, but of which the trunk is nevertheless good for building, as are also the jicaquilla, and the yellow thorn. For furniture there are the different kinds of cedar, called espina, sebolla, real, and papaya, all of which are entirely free from wood-lice. The amarillo of Guayaquil does not rot, the carob-tree of Peru, the mountain yagua, the cork-tree, the chuchipate, and chachajo, most useful in building.

"The beams of durable wood employed for inlaid-work, as in ornamental furniture: the tanjaro, resembling mahogany; the white and black fig, the soap-tree, the bark and leaves of which are used for soap; the majagua, used by the Indians for making cables; the the palo de lana, such as the ceiba or cotton-tree, which grows more than a hundred feet high, and from which excellent canoes are made; the hobo, an enormous, strong and durable tree, quite opposed to the bongo and balso-trees of moderate bulk, very light and resembling cork, which are used for rafts. The yalla is very durable and imperishable. The mangroves, cavalero, pena, those growing by the sea, and colorado; this last kind is very durable, and used in ship-building. The palo cucuba, much used in making mats and blankets. The gachapali and spruce, exceedingly good for masts. The murcielago, the hob de puerco, de cerco, barigon, beech, raton, carcuro, sibo, and terciopelo, all most useful in carpentering; as are also the mountain guava, the wild cherry, the papaw, pava, the mostrenca, and canaza, a kind of bamboo, which forms very leafy groves.

"COMMERCE.

"All the provinces of the Isthmus, and all their cantons send their produce to Panamá, as much by land as water, excepting Boca del Foro, the trade of which, consisting of more than two thousand tortoises annually, and more than five quintals of tortoise-shell, cocoa-oil, cocoa-nuts, sarsaparilla, resin, cedar, and fish, is

carried on in the place itself, whither the purchasers repair, taking in exchange dried goods, liquors, and various other produce.

"The villages of the province send to the capital meat, pigs, cattle, hogs, hens, eggs, rice, yucca, turkey, totumas, maize, plantains, loaves, lime, wool, coal, coffee, filings, raspaduras, oranges, beans, salt, horses, boards, fish, sarsaparilla, resin, wood for building, and pearl-shells.

"The province of Veragua sends to Panamá herds of cows, hogs, horses, and mules; hammocks, maize, rice, timber for building, and pearl-shells; receiving in exchange foreign manufactures and produce, and the salt of the country.

"The province of Azuero sends to Veragua earthenware, onions, and sweetmeats, and receives from it maize, rice, beans, pulse, and fat cattle; these same articles are sent to Panamá, as also fat hogs, goats, horses, and mules.

"The province of Chiriqui sends to Veragua lean hogs to be fatted, and receives in exchange money and clothes; the same thing occurs at Panamá with shells, fish, planks, pigs, cattle, fowls, eggs, maize, skins, tortoise-shell, cedar, filings, beans, soap, candles, coffee, sarsaparilla (*zarsa*), cocoa-nuts, and many other trifles, which are sent to the villages, such as mats, saddles, rope, thread, deer-skins, brooms, &c.

"The value of land in the Isthmus of Panamá is necessarily increased by the existence of the railway there. A concession of Government lands is made to

the Panamá Railway Company, but it is expressly stipulated in that concession, that only one-half of the lands so conceded shall be selected from those adjoining the railway.

"If any plan shall hereafter be carried out for the cutting a ship-canal through the Isthmus, it must still further improve the value of land there."*

* Mr. J. D. Powles' remarks on Report, "New Granada," page 122.

CHAPTER XIX.

Chiriqui.

One of the most flourishing departments of the State, and one which has perhaps the most natural resources combined with the most favourable climate, is Chiriqui. A friend of mine, a Scotch physician, who had resided there for some years, thus wrote of it in the latter end of 1854:

"It might be said, that since Columbus gave his name to Admiral's Bay, and saw for the first time the Lagoon of Chiriqui, the world had almost forgotten the fact. Like that part of the Isthmus styled then 'Castilla del Oro,' all was absorbed in the golden blaze of the conquest of Peru, while now it requires no very prophetic eye to see that, after all, the Isthmus shall become to be of more use to the world at large than the golden treasures of the murdered Incas.

"But, after all, many will ask, where is Chiriqui? Is it the land of the Cherokee Indians?

"By no means. Chiriqui is the ancient and modern name of one of the finest provinces which form the

geographical Isthmus of Panamá. The great Lagoon of Chiriqui, on the Atlantic, forms its northern border. Costa Rica and Golfo Dulce its western. The Pacific Ocean washes its southern coast, and the neighbouring province of Veraguas bounds it on the east. A continuation of the Cordilleras of the Andes, running from south-east to north-west, divides it into two unequal portions, following rather the Atlantic side. The high, sharply-cut ridges, clothed with trees of never-ceasing verdure, bearing on their trunks parasitic forests of gigantic mosses and splendid orchideæ, go on night and day condensing moisture, which in the deep ravines and valleys form on each side numerous rivers, running respectively to the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean, both of which, in a clear day, can be seen from their crests by the adventurous traveller. The northern crest is characterised by forest and mountain spurs, while the Pacific side is no less so by extensive pasture-plains and gentle undulations. On a clear night, when the polar star just makes out to peep over the volcano of Chiriqui, and sees wheeling below it alternately the Russian empire and the almighty republic, we stand on the bridge between North and South America, listening to the shouts of Europe and the sighs of Africa on our right, while lands of "barbaric pearl and gold" beckon to us on our left.

"From a peculiar law in the distribution of gold, we find it to abound more on the northern and eastern slopes of the Cordilleras. Experience has exemplified this in the "mineral de Veragua," the Oural chain of

mountains, and those gold-bearing ranges in Australia which extend from south to north. Under the Spanish Government the mineral region of Veragua gave gold abundantly, and afford strong proof in favour of the gold yielding celebrity of the mines of Tisiñyal, which were situated on the Atlantic side of the Cordilleras, near the Chiriqui Lagoon. From the certainty of this, added to the fact of Flandin and Merrel having discovered veins of excellent coal, it is to be hoped that Chiriqui and her Lagoon will be dragged out from among the forgotten corners of the earth, and be brought into the line of steamboat traffic and active industry. Mr. Flandin, in a late visit he made here to obtain a privilege to construct a road across, was very much pleased with the truly virgin freshness and tranquillity of the Chiriqui landscape; he saw how easily the necessities of life could be produced by very little labour, and sighed to think how many moral and industrious families could be happy amid the smiling valleys that are as yet only pasture-grounds for a few cattle. The people repose in the hope that he will be enabled to interest the United States people and Government towards them, and succeed in throwing the light of the age over their almost unknown valleys, rivers, lakes, and harbours. The province is divided into two divisions; all the land on the Atlantic side of the Cordilleras constituting the canton of Bocas del Toro, and that on the Pacific being called the canton of Alange. David, the capital, is situated on a magnificent plain, about ten miles from the ocean, on the

western bank of the river of the same name, in lat. 8° 23′ N., and long. 82° 27′ W., according to the surveys of H. B. M. steamer the "Herald." At distances of from three to four leagues lay the villages of Dolega, Gualaca, Boqueron, and Bugara; upon the same plain, which gradually rises until it is lost at the foot of the Cordilleras. Besides the plain, the two most prominent objects, as well as the blue mountains of the chain of the Andes, are two remarkable isolated mountains, the volcano of Chiriqui, some 11,000 feet high, to the north by west of David, and the table mountain of Chercha, over whose flat surface rises the sun in the east, with a very pretty waterfall of 300 feet, which at noon reflects back the sun's rays like a ribbon of polished silver, and which, along with the bearings of the volcano, serve the navigators as a landmark in making Boca Chica, the seaport of David. The distance to Panamá is about 300 miles by sea, the trade being at present carried on in four or five small schooners. The population of the town is about 5000, and number of houses 500, of which twelve are two-story houses, costing from 400 dollars to 600 dollars to construct; and as a very active Italian has just succeeded in putting up a saw-mill, house-building will become more general and more satisfactory. Close to the town, Mr. James Agnew, a native of the United States, and the present governor of the province, has had a large coffee-plantation for many years back, yielding annually from two to three hundred quintals of coffee; but he has been obliged to abandon it, and turn his

attention more to cattle, owing to the great increase of wages for day labourers, while they work as little as possible, and eat as much as they can. At present all the produce that will pay has to be sent to Panamá, but we still look forward to the completion of the road to Bocas del Toro, by which means a direct communication being opened up with the United States and Europe, a great many natural productions now useless would be made valuable. For instance, we have abundance of the caoutchouc trees, a species of plant from which could be extracted fibres useful for ropes, clothing, and paper; four classes of endogenous, and five or more of exogenous trees, producing fine oils; nine species of trees producing gums and balsams, and an immense variety of wood for construction and furniture. But above all, the great superiority of Chiriqui over almost any other country similarly situated, is its superior healthiness to European constitutions.

"The principal produce of Chiriqui hitherto has been cattle, horses, and hogs, as is found to be the case in the plains wherever inhabited by Spanish South Americans —these branches of industry being most suitable for an indolent life and a warm climate. Since the California excitement in Panamá, the production of grain has augmented. Formerly the cattle were killed, dried, and sent off to the mines in Choco; and hence there were a considerable number of hides exported, which has in a great measure ceased, as the cattle are driven on foot to Panamá. The exports may be calculated as follows:

LIVE STOCK.

Kind.	*No. in the Province.*	*Annual Increase.*	*Average Prices in the Province.*	*No. Exported.*	*Value of Selling Price in Panamá.*
Cattle . .	109,000	15 per ct.	$10 to $15	2000	$50,000
Horses . .	10,000	do.	do.	—	—
Hogs . .	7,500	—	10 to 20	3000	60,000
	126,500			5000	110,000

GRAIN.

Kind.	*No. of Quintals Produced.*	*No. Exported.*	*Provincial Value.*	*Sold in Panamá.*
Indian Corn .	15,000	10,000	$2½ per q'l	22,000
Rice	2,500	5,000	3 do.	£15,000

"Chickens, turkeys, beans, &c., are excepted; horses are not now sent to Panamá. Boards, also, are occasionally exported; with well placed saw-mills the whole Pacific could be supplied. The soil is admirably adapted for sugar and tobacco. The former, brought from Panamá, is selling here at 40 cents a pound, the quantity of raw sugar and molasses made by the imperfect machines of the country not being even enough to supply domestic consumption and the distilleries of spirits. Very common tobacco, even Virginia, sells at 40 cents a pound. Children from four years and upwards know how to smoke, nor do young ladies think their charms lessened by openly indulging in the "filthy weed," which powerfully assists them in the *dolce far niente*, tempering at once the arrows of the sun and the imagination.

"The people voting under the new constitution, have elected Mr. Agnew, a native-born American, to be Governor, but many years a resident in the province —showing at once their liberal feelings and desire to be governed by a man who had the good luck to be

born in the most go-ahead nation in the world; a fact that cannot fail to inspire confidence in any one who would by his capital or industry, be inclined to 'come over and help us.' Neither revolutions nor cholera-morbus have as yet visited Chiriqui, nor any epidemic, save smallpox now and then. The only thing that is likely to trouble the tranquillity of our tranquil citizens is the long vexed question of limits between us and Costa Rica. The latter, impelled by French and English company influence, demand a boundary line which would take away one-half of the province, and sadly disfigure the integrity of the Isthmus. The people are averse to unite with Costa Rica, were it possible; for having obtained free ports, freedom from tithes and custom-houses, they do not wish again the same yoke, besides, having a natural love of peace, and aversion to civil wars, so common in the neighbouring republics. The Isthmus, for her future destiny, requires the fine harbour of Golfo Dulce, but, nevertheless, is willing to halve it with Costa Rica. The line insisted on by us is that of the law of the 20th of November, 1803, given by the King of Spain to the vice-royalty of New Granada, giving her jurisdiction along the coast as far as Cape Gracias a Dios. Abandoning this mere sea-coast line, we take that which affects the Terra Firma, viz., from the centre of Golfo Dulce to Punta Careta. We hope the United States will see justice done in all such questions between the American families, without bias of fear or favour from European politics. The people only desire

peace, liberty, and order, and feel that their union with Bogotá brings them no substantial good, but that the aimless revolutions which every now and then take place in the capitals, throw upon them the necessity of paying forced loans, &c., retard the progress of the Isthmus, endanger the peace and morality of its people, by party feeling embittered by civil war and bloodshed, at the head of the republic. "Which is better," already whispers rumour, "annexation or independence?" "R. M. D.

"David, Nov. 20, 1854.

"P.S.—Since writing the above, the following list of articles exported by land and sea has been furnished me from the Government office, with the value in New Granadian money, when sold in the province:—

ARTICLES EXPORTED FROM THE PROVINCE OF CHIRIQUI IN THE YEAR 1853.

	$
7500 hogs, average price $10	75,000
120,000 quintals of rice, at $4	48,000
12,000 quintals of Indian corn, at $2 04	30,000
10,000 fowls, at $5 per doz.	4,166
4500 cattle, at $12	54,000
*300 quintals of sarsaparilla, at $30	9,000
300 logs of nispero-wood, at $5	1,500
Pearls of all sizes	2,000
200,000 pearl shells, at $3 per 1,000	600
500 doz. of cedar planks, at $10	5,000
Raw sugar	1,000
70 quintals of native tobacco, at $16	1,120
30,000 cedron-beans, at $1 per 100	300
500 turkeys, at $2 each	1,000
1 quintal of vanilla	500
800 gallons cocoa-nut oil	1,000
Total	$234,186"

* The principal part of the sarsaparilla was carried over to Bocas del Toro.

A year or two ago a large quantity of curiosities of Indian workmanship, in gold and earthenware, were found in the supposed graves of the Indians, at Chiriqui. These are, doubtless, similar ornaments to those seen by Columbus on his voyage to Terra Firma, and many of them have, perhaps, remained upwards of 300 years under the earth. Some of the gold ornaments recently found were beautiful specimens of Indian workmanship, and many were of pure gold; others were of a mixture of gold and copper. Figures of birds, lizards, lions, &c., in size and weight varying from a quarter ounce to two ounces were most common. There were also plates and vessels of a larger size of the alloyed metal. Of the earthenware were formed incense-burners, water-coolers, &c.

These curiosities are still discovered from time to time, and brought to Panamá for sale. Those of gold generally meet with no better fate than that of being melted up and sold for their weight.

Captain Pim, referring to the various canal schemes of the Isthmus, says of Chiriqui: "The next point of interest as regards canalization, is Chiriqui Lagoon, lat. 9° 8′ N., long. 81° 57′ W."

"This port, or rather series of ports, is beyond doubt one of the finest and most capacious harbours in the world; it may fairly be compared with Rio de Janeiro. From Chiriqui it has been proposed to construct a canal to the river David, which empties itself into the Pacific, and this route has met with warm advocates; but, unfortunately, David does not afford any

port at its mouth, and would require a considerable outlay before it could offer the commonest facilities as an "entrepôt."

David lies in lat. 8° 23′ N., long. 82° 27′ W., on the left bank of the river of the same name, in a beautiful plain, and is surrounded by the villages of Gualaca, Dolega, Boqueron, and Bugaba, and by mountains of considerable elevation. On the south-west rises the volcano of Chiriqui, a peak 7000 feet high; on the north the Galera de Chorcha, a flat table mountain, which, as the first part of its name indicates, has some resemblance to a gallery or corridor; from the top a waterfall descends over high blocks of granite several hundred feet in depth.

During the wet season, when great quantities of water are discharged, it is very conspicuous, resembling from a distance a stream of silver, and serving navigators as a landmark in making Boca Chica, the seaport of David.

David has about six hundred houses, built of wood and clay, and generally one story high, and, being all whitewashed, they form several neat-looking streets. There is only one church, which stands in the centre of the public square, where also the Government offices are situated. The town contained, in 1843, according to official statements, 4321 inhabitants. Their number is, however, yearly augmented by immigration. Several French, Italians, and North Americans have settled there, and it is principally owing to their exertions that David has risen within the last fifteen

years from a paltry hamlet to a prosperous town. Though the Davidenians are mostly a mixed race, the number of the whites is considerable. Their employment consists in breeding cattle, agriculture, and commerce. The exports of the place are rice, coffee, sarsaparilla, pearls, hides, turtle-shells, dried meat, and some gold-dust. Several other natural productions might be advantageously shipped. The corpachi (*Croton eluteria*, Swartz), the bark of which is used in the country against toothache, and is also of commercial value, grows plentifully in the forests. The quira (*Platymiscium polystachyum*, Benth), is found in abundance in the neighbourhood; and the saumerio (*Styrax punctatum*, De Cand.) which produces an odoriferous balsam, a substitute for frankincense in Veraguas, is seen in extensive groves in the adjacent mountains. At present, all the produce has to be carried to Panamá, but when a road to Bocas del Toro has been completed, and a direct communication with North America established, many productions which are not worth sending will be exported with advantage.*

"The climate of David, if compared with that of the other parts of the Isthmus, is particularly healthy. Longevity is common; few of the cutaneous eruptions so common in other districts of the Isthmus are experienced; the common fever of the country being the predominant disease, and even this malady is only prevalent during the change of season. The climate

* "The prospectus of a company desirous of making this road was issued in London some years back; but the undertaking fell to the ground."

is annually improving; if we may believe the tradition of the country, the rainy season a hundred years ago was most violent, making it necessary to navigate from house to house in canoes.

"The intervening land is of gradual ascent, but the central ridge is of such a height as to render cutting or tunnelling in that vicinity for a canal, a very questionable proceeding.

"Mr. Hellert examined the route, and found it to present the most formidable obstacles; the locality, however, promises many and great advantages, so much so, indeed, that the Federal Government have fixed upon it as the best place for the deportation of their surplus coloured population,* and it will not be at all surprising if this act eventually leads to the formation of a rail or tramway from sea to sea. Mr. Wheelwright found coal of tolerable quantity in the vicinity, and the entire line of country, unlike Panamá, offers every inducement for colonization. There is one great objection to the construction of a railway, and that is, that the republic of New Granada, of which this is a part, has given the exclusive right of transit through its territories to the Panamá Railway Company; but it is not a trifle, as we all know, which will deter the Federal Government, if it set its heart upon an object."†

* This was before the employment of the blacks as soldiers, and before they were thinned by the war. We have heard nothing of the scheme lately.

† "The Gate of the Pacific."

CHAPTER XX.

Communications with the Isthmus—Distances, Fares, and Freights.

THE reader or traveller will, probably, by this time, have had enough of Panamá; so having conveyed him thus far on his journey, perhaps to a better place, my next duty is to show him how he may leave Panamá. We have seen that there are no less than twenty opportunities monthly of sailing—or rather steaming—away from the Isthmus, and by one of these means he may go in almost any direction.

1st. The Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company's steamers leave Colon for Southampton on the 5th (or 6th, when the previous month has only thirty days) and 21st of each month. These steamers touch, on the voyage to Southampton, at Jamaica, Jacmel, and St. Thomas, in the West Indies. On the arrival at St. Thomas, other steamers belonging to the company are ready to convey the passengers transferred to them to St. Kitts, Antigua, Guadeloupe, Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia, Barbadoes, Demarara, St. Vincent, Grenada, Trinidad, and Tobago.

Communication to Porto Rico, Havana, Vera Cruz,

and Tampico also takes place by the steamer which leaves Colon on the 5th (or 6th) of the month, and by which passengers for New Orleans can be booked as far as Havana.

A monthly service, for the conveyance of mails, passengers, &c., is also established by this company's steamers between Colon, Carthagena, and Santa Martha, and between those places and Grey Town, connecting at Colon with the steamers to Southampton and intermediate branch ports. The steamers of this line arrive at Colon from Europe on the night of the 7th (or 8th) and 23rd of each month.

2nd. The Pacific Steam Navigation Company's steamers, for the various ports in Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chili, leave Panamá on the 9th (or 10th) and 25th of each month, touching at the following named places:—

Guayaquil, Tumbes, *Paita,* Lambayeque, Pacasmayo, Malabrigo, Huanchaco, Santa Samanco, Casma Huarmey, Supè, Huacho, *Callao,* Tambo Mora, *Pisco, the Chincha Islands,* Chala, Quilca, *Islay, Arica,* Pisagua, Mejillones, *Iquique,* Tocopilla, *Cobija,* Taltal, Chañaral, *Caldera,* Carrizal Bajo, Huasco, *Coquimbo,* Tongoy, *Valparaiso,* Tome, Talcahuano, Coronel, Lota, Corral, Valdivia, Aucud, Calbuco, Puerto Montt.*

* The connections with the places not in italics are made by branch or intermediate steamers.

THE WORKING OF THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC BRITISH MAIL SERVICES IS AS UNDER:—

OUTWARD.			HOMEWARD.		
ARRIVAL at COLON.	INTERVAL for ISTHMUS TRANSIT, &c.	DEPARTURE from PANAMA.	ARRIVAL at PANAMA.	INTERVAL for ISTHMUS TRANSIT, &c.	DEPARTURE from COLON.
7th & 23rd.	2 days.	9th & 25th.	4th & 20th.	2 days.	6th & 22nd.

3rd. Steamers of this line also leave Panamá on the 12th and 22nd of each month for the Pacific ports of the United States of Colombia and Ecuador, calling at Buenaventura, Tumaco, Esmeraldas, Manta, and Ballenita. The steamers from Peru, Chili, &c., arrive at Panamá on the 4th or 5th and 20th of the month, and those from the coast of Colombia and Ecuador on the 8th or 9th and 17th.

4th. The Pacific Mail Steam-Ship Company's steamers between Panamá and San Francisco, sail from Panamá about the 2nd, 12th, and 22nd of each month, calling at Acapulco and Manzanillo on the Mexican coast, and connecting at San Francisco with vessels proceeding to Oregon, Washington Territory, Vancouver, and British Columbia.

These steamers are due at Panamá from the above-named places on the 5th or 6th, 16th and 26th of each month.

5th. The Atlantic Mail Line of American steamers leaves Colon for New York on or about the 5th or 6th, 16th and 26th of the month, or rather on the arrival

of the passengers from San Francisco, and should arrive at Colon on the morning of the 1st or 2nd, 12th and 22nd of each month.

It is by the vessels of this line that passengers desiring to return to Europe, by way of the United States, must proceed, except at the occasional times of an opposition line.

6th. The West India and Pacific Steam-Ship Company's steamers leave Colon on the 1st and 15th of the month for Liverpool, those of the 15th calling at Santa Martha and Havana, and connecting at Havana with steamers for Mexico, and those of the 1st calling at Santa Martha, Kingston, and Port-au-Prince. These steamers arrive at Colon on the 7th and 23rd of the month.

7th. The Panamá Railroad Company's steamers for Central America leave Panamá on the 10th and 25th of each month, calling at Puna Arenas, Realejo, La Union, La Libertadad, Acajutla, and San José de Guatemala. These steamers arrive at Panamá from Central America on the 1st and 15th of the month.

8th. In addition to the above, there is at present an opposition line of steamers to San Francisco once a month; and

9th. Also a corresponding communication to and from New York.

But these opposition lines were only transferred to the Isthmus from Grey Town and San Juan del Sur Nicaragua late in the year 1863, and may at any time

be removed again to the ports of the Nicaragua transit route.

In addition to the steamers named above, about twenty-five sailing vessels, coal-ships, and small coasting craft enter the port of Panamá annually, while those entering Colon are about 150. From Colon there is a regular line of sailing-ships to and from Bordeaux. The Panamá Railway Company, too, have established a line of sailing-packets between New York and Colon, for the conveyance of merchandise to and from the Isthmus. It is said that these vessels are now quite insufficient for this trade, and that a new line of American steamers is shortly to be established between these ports. "For such a line of steamers," says the "Panamá Star and Herald," "there never was a better opening, and its initiation will be hailed with delight by every merchant on the Isthmus and on the coast. For years past the steamers from New York have been so overloaded with San Francisco freight and passengers, that shippers of merchandise for the Isthmus have had no showing whatever at the enormous rate of fifty cents per foot, and they are almost invariably obliged to fall back on the sailing vessels of the Panamá Railway Company's line, which are so crowded with through freight for other ports, that the agents of Aspinwall and Panamá shippers have to look sharp to find a place for their goods on board. Both out and home these vessels are, we may say, universally obliged to refuse freight."

Panamá is now distant in time and by steam from—

	Days.
England, per Royal Mail Steam Packet Company's Steamer	20
„ per Liverpool steamers, including stoppages	25 to 30
From New York	9
„ San Francisco, including stoppages	12
„ Callao, Port of Lima, Peru, ditto	8
„ Valparaiso, Chili, ditto	19
„ Guatemala, Central America, ditto	9

But the actual distances are about the following:—

	Miles.
From Southampton *viâ* St. Thomas	4,720
„ New York	1,990
„ New Orleans	1,530
„ Key West, Florida	1,020
„ Havana, Cuba	970
„ Carthagena, United States Colombia	280
„ Grey Town, Nicaragua	240
„ Kingston, Jamaica	540
„ Guayaquil, Ecuador	835
„ Callao, Peru	1,445
„ Tahiti, Society Islands	3,420
„ Valparaiso, Chili	2,900
„ Sydney *viâ* Tahiti	7,950
„ Honolulu, Sandwich Islands	3,700
„ Acapulco, Mexico	1,400
„ San Francisco	3,250

The following rates are now established for passages and freight by steam-vessels from Panamá to the undermentioned places in the Pacific:—

Places.	Passage, 1st Class.	Passage, 2nd Class.	Rate of freight per ton.
	$	$	$
San Francisco, California	175	75	50 to 60
Buenaventura, U. S. Colombia	50	*15	10
Tumaco, „	60	*20	12
Esmeraldas, Ecuador	70	*22	15
Manta „	80	*25	15
Ballenita „	82	*26	15

* Deck passages.

Places.	Passage, 1st Class.	Passage, 2nd Class.	Rate of freight per ton.
	$	$	$
Guayaquil „	105	50	20
Paita, Peru	115	55	25
Lambayaque „	130	65	25
Huanchaco „	130	65	25
Callao „	160	75	30
Islas de Chincha, Pisco, and Peru	175	82-50	35
Chala „	205	95	35
Quilca „	220	105	35
Islay „	220	105	35
Ilo „	230	110	35
Arica „	230	110	35
Pisagua „	245	115	35
Mejillones „	245	115	35
Iquique „	245	115	35
Tocopilla, Bolivia	255	120	35
Cobija „	255	120	35
Chañaral, Chili	265	125	35
Caldera „	265	125	35
Carrizal Bajo „	270	127-50	35
Huasco „	270	127-50	35
Coguimbo „	275	130	35
Tongoy „	280	132-50	35
Valparaiso „	290	135	35
Punta Arenas, Central America	50	–	14
Realejo „	65	–	16
La Union „	70	–	16
La Libertad „	75	–	18
Acajutla „	80	–	18
San José „	85	–	18
Acapulco, Mexico	87-50	37	25 to 30

Having thus accompanied the reader to Panamá, and shown him or her how to leave it, my occupation is gone. To those who have to visit the Isthmus, I wish a prosperous voyage and a pleasant sojourn. To those, in my opinion more fortunate, who may study the country by their own firesides, I offer my warmer congratulations. Perhaps there is no surer method of

creating for oneself a really happy hour than by recalling to recollection those hours of real happiness which are gone by, but which, by virtue of the joy or pleasure they have once caused us, are deeply engraven on our memory, and which, like old port, a good story, or one of "Punch's" happy hits, nothing lose by age; and so, indeed, the very recollection of what one has once enjoyed is a never-failing source of interest, if not of renewed enjoyment. What pleasure even to girls at a ball is equal to that of sitting over a cheerful fire on their return home, and chatting about their own doings and their friends' doings at the ball? And what pleasure to the traveller or hunter is generally equal to that of going over the ground again with one's fellow-traveller and friends on his return home. But he who visits the Isthmus of Panamá must not aspire to great enjoyment, intellectual or physical, present or future. The attractions of the place to the visitor or traveller are few indeed, and, as has been observed by the writer of an article from which I have made several quotations, "Panamá is to the world in general a part only of the road leading to more genial places."*

* "Panamá as a Home."

APPENDIX.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE EXTRACTION OF THE NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF THE LANDS AND FORESTS OF THE REPUBLIC.

By virtue of a National Law of 31st July, 1863, the President of the Republic has emitted a decree, dated 14th August of last year, in which the following dispositions and provisions are set forth :—

The public lands and the produce of the national forests are dedicated to the payment of the interest, and the funding of the national debt.

An administrator shall be appointed in each State, whose duties shall be : To collect the dues established in the decree for the exploration of the lands and forests; to propose to the President of the State the formation of an Inspecting Commission for the purpose of developing all substances adapted to medical uses. In the absence of such a Commission the Administrator shall himself perform the duties of the Commission; procuring evidence from parties competent in medicinal, botanical, and commercial matters; defining rules by which the extraction of medical substances can be performed in the best and most profitable manner, and without injury to the plants which yield the substances; to issue licences for the exploration of national lands and forests, and to attend to the inspection of the substances extracted, with the object of securing the articles in the most creditable and marketable state.

The President of the State to prohibit by decree the extrac-

tion of quina, indiarubber, balsam, and other gums, vegetable ivory, cabinet and dye-woods, building-timber, &c., except by licence from the Administrator; and to publish the dues collectable for such extraction.

By the decree all such articles extracted from the national lands and forests shall pay the same dues if destined for use in the country as if for exportation. The dues must be paid in coin at the time the exportation is effected.

Quina bark, indiarubber, balsam, and other useful materials extracted from private lands and forests cannot be exported without previously producing—

1st. Certificate of legal title to the land from which the commodities are extracted. This certificate must be issued by the municipality within whose jurisdiction the lands and forests are comprised. The date of the title, the name of the proprietor, the name of the property or lands, and the kind of substance extracted must be described in the certificate.

2nd. The names of the labourers engaged on the property or lands from which the articles are extracted; who may be examined by the Administrator of Lands and Forests, or by the municipality which issue the certificate.

3rd. The attestation of the same municipality, exhibiting the results of the examination of the labourers.

These requisitions must be complied with strictly, without embarassing the export trade.

Quina bark and indiarubber from the Pacific coast of the republic to Panamá must be accompanied by a document to be presented at the office of the railroad, proving payment of the export dues in the Cauca or in the State of Panamá.

On the 11th of January last, the President of the State decreed:—

1st. That the prefects, or their agents, at once proceed to describe the lands belonging to the nation.

2nd. That they, excepting the Prefect of the Department of Panamá, appoint three citizens to form the Inspecting Commission,

3rd. That they shall issue the licence for extracting the products of the national lands.

4th. All persons extracting substances from the national lands without a licence, shall be tried and punished as defrauders of the public revenue.

5th. Dues for extracting quina-bark are fixed at 4c. per kilogramme.

6th. Dues are fixed for extracting indiarubber at 3c. per kilogram.; cabinet woods at 20c. per 100 kilogs.; dye-woods at 1c. per kilog.; balsam, resin, and other gums, 2c. per kilog.; ivory-nuts, 1c. per kilog.; sarsaparilla, 2c. per kilog.; mangle and other 3-in. scantling, 20c. per dozen; ditto 4-in. and 6-in. scantling, 30c. per dozen; mahogany boards, cedar, and other common planks, 60c. per dozen; common cedar and other ordinary boards, 40c. per dozen; nisberry and other large beams, 20c. each.

Art. 8th. The captains, masters, mates, owners or consignees of vessels arriving at this port or at Colon from any part of this State or the Republic must make a sworn declaration to the Administrator of National Lands and Forests, in this city, and to the Administrator of Rents in the Department of Colon, advising the articles named in the decree, if brought by the vessels, in order that the dues may be collected, if not paid elsewhere.

9th. Those who fail to comply with article 8th will be fined in a sum not over double the amount of the dues payable, besides paying the dues, and to be held amenable to law as defrauders of the national revenue.

Such is a brief sketch of the decrees which govern the extraction of the natural productions of the lands and forests belonging to the Republic.

(Translated for the Author.)

POLITICAL CONSTITUTION FOR THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF PANAMÁ.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE, DECREES:

TITLE I.

Article 1st. The Sovereign State of Panamá is composed of the Colombians established in the territory, and of the feritory which formed the provinces of the Isthmus of Panamá, namely, Panamá Azuero, Veraguas, and Chiriqui, when the Constitutional Act of the 27th of February, of 1855, created the State.

TITLE II.

INDIVIDUAL GUARANTEES.

Article 2nd. The State acknowledges and guarantees to all the inhabitants and transient persons:

1st. The non-infliction of pain of death, nor of corporal punishment exceeding ten years. No cruel punishments shall be imposed in the State, nor shall torture be resorted to.

2nd. Individual liberty, which has no other limit than the liberty of another individual; that is to say, it guarantees the faculty of doing or omitting all that which, being done or omitted, causes no injury to another indivinual, nor to the community. Consequently no one shall be judged in the State for vagrancy.

3rd. Personal security; so that it may not be attacked with impunity by another individual nor by public authority; nor

shall the inhabitants nor transient persons be imprisoned, arrested, nor detained but for criminal motive or correctional punishment; nor judged by extraordinary committees or tribunals; nor sentenced without having been heard and found guilty in virtue of pre-existing laws. Consequently in the State there shall be no imprisonment for debt.

4th. The right of not being detained for more than twelve hours without the delivery (to be detained) of a copy of the order of detention expressing the motive for it.

5th. Property; no one shall be deprived of it but for a penalty, or for a general tax according to law; or when, for some grave reason of public necessity, it may be judicially disposed of according to law with previous indemnification.

Are not subject to dispossession: 1. Rights and claims against the Fisc or against private individuals. 2. Movables or immovables, the special use of which is not needed for a determinate public service. 3. The property of one or more individuals exclusively, when it may be possible to extend the dispossession to others by which the charge may be made more proportionate.

What is directed in this paragraph does not authorize the infliction of penalty of confiscation in any case whatever.

6th. The impost shall be proportionate to the wealth which the impost-payer may possess in the State.

7th. The liberty to express (their) thoughts by word or writing without any restraint, and to circulate printed matter, both national and foreign, in conformity with the absolute liberty of the press.

8th. The liberty to travel in the territory of the State, and to leave it without passport or permission from any authority whatever in time of peace; not, however, when the individual has given sureties to appear, or his capture has been decreed by competent authority according to law, nor when the individual is not in the enjoyment of personal liberty through penalty legally imposed.

9th. The liberty to practise all occupations, and to labour,

without usurping the occupations of another, the property of which may have been temporarily guaranteed by the laws to the authors of useful inventions; nor those which may have been reserved by the Union or by the State as financial means; and without embarrassing the public ways, nor attacking security, nor salubrity, nor morality.

10th. The liberty to give or to receive the instruction which they may deem proper in the establishments that are not paid out of public funds.

11th. Gratuitous primary instruction.

12th. The liberty to assemble without arms, and to possess arms and ammunition, and to trade in them in time of peace.

13th. The right of not being recruited against their will for armed service in time of peace.

14th. The inviolability of domicile and of private writings; so that the one cannot be forcibly entered into, nor the others intercepted or examined, but by competent authority, for the effect and with the formalities determined by law.

15th. Equality; and consequently it is not licit to grant privileges nor legal distinctions which may redound to the pure favour or benefit of the favoured persons; nor to impose special obligations, which may render those subject to them of a condition inferior to others.

16th. The right to obtain a prompt and timely resolution to the petitions which they may address in writing, and with legal formalities, to corporations, authorities, or public functionaries, on any matter of public or private interest.

17th. The right to accuse public functionaries, and to obtain from them copies, according to law, of the documents in their offices on which the accusation may be intended against them.

18th. The trial by jury in criminal matters, with the exception of such political acts as may make placemen and public functionaries responsible for their official conduct; and of the punishable acts, the trial of which may be attributed by law to the district judges.

19th. The free profession, either public or private, of any reli-

gion; but in the exercise of it no acts will be permitted which the law has previously qualified as criminal, or which may tend to disturb the public peace, or which may be incompatible with the sovereignty of the nation, or that of the State. The Government of the State will exercise the right of guardianship over religious corporations and their ministers, adhering to what is decreed in the 23rd Article of the National Constitution.

Art. 3rd. In case of war, or of a disturbance of public order in the State, dispossession may be effected by other than the judicial authorities, and without previous indemnification, and sufficient force may be raised to re-establish the peace.

Art. 4th. The Executive Power of the State charged with the maintenance of the public peace, and with the re-establishment of it when it may have been disturbed, shall employ the means mentioned in the preceding article; but for that it is necessary that the State be previously declared at war, or that public order has been disturbed. This declaration must be made by a council composed of the President of the State, of the President of the Assembly, of the President of the Supreme Jury, of the President of the Court, and of the Attorney-General. In the absence of the Presidents of the Assembly, or of the Supreme Jury, the respective Vice-Presidents shall be called. The declaration mentioned shall be of force during sixty days, a new declaration being indispensable to prolong the time.

Art. 5th. When, for any motive, the totality of the members of the council mentioned in the preceding article may not be able to assemble, it shall be composed of the majority of its members. The Secretary of Government shall be the Secretary of the Council.

TITLE III.

DUTIES OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE STATE.

Art. 6th. The duties of the inhabitants of the State are:

1st. To live subject to the constitution and to the laws, and to respect, to obey, and to sustain the established authorities.

2nd. To contribute towards the public expenditure.

3rd. To serve and to defend the State in the cases prescribed by law. The ministers of any worship are exempted from military service.

Art. 7th. Foreigners in the State shall enjoy the same civil rights as the members of the State, being subject to the laws and authorities of the State, and without more prerogatives or civil rights than the national individuals.

TITLE IV.

CITIZENSHIP.

Art. 8th. The citizenship consists:

1st. In the right of election, when the constitution or the law confers by popular vote any employment of those which constitute the Government.

2nd. In the capacity to be elected to the same employments.

Article 9th. Citizens electing are: The Colombians residing in the State, males, and above twenty-one years of age, or under it, if they be, or have been married, or have obtained a licence to manage their own estates.

Art. 10th. Citizens eligible are: The Colombians residing in the State, male, and above twenty-one years of age, or under it, if they be, or have been married, or have obtained a licence to manage their own estates.

Art. 11th. No minister of any worship has a right to elect, nor can he be elected to public employment.

Art. 12th. Citizenship is lost in no case whatever, but it is suspended from those who are suffering corporal punishment in virtue of judicial sentence as determined by law, and those also who are under guardians.

Art. 13th. The right of election is suspended from those legally in prison, or absent from the territory of the State, or are incapable of concurring to give their vote.

TITLE V.

CITIZENS' RIGHTS.

Art. 14th. The citizens have a right to vote:

1. For the Senators, Plenipotentiary, and Representatives to the National Congress.
2. For the President of the United States of Colombia.
3. For the Magistrates of the Supreme Federal Court.
4. For the Deputies to the Legislative Assembly of the State.
5. For the President of the State.
6. For the Court Magistrates and the Attorney-General.
7. For the members of the Municipal Corporations of their district.
8. For the Prefects, Judges, and Attorneys of their respective departments; and
9. For all the other functionaries whose election may be attributed to them by law.

TITLE VI.

OF THE TERRITORY.

Art. 15th. The limits of the territory of the State are: With the Sovereign State of the Cauca, those determined by the President of New Granada, Citizen General Tomas Cipriano de Mosquera, in the decree of the 7th of August of 1847, inserted in the "Gaceta de la Nueva Granada," on the 12th day of the same month, No. 902, namely, the River Atrato, from its mouth upwards, to its confluence with the Napipi, thence following upwards the course of the Napipi to its source, and thence by a straight line to the Bay of Cupica in the Pacific. With the Republic of Costa Rica, the national ones between the United States of Colombia and Costa Rica.

Art. 16th. The territory of the State cannot be increased nor diminished without the consent of the Assembly of the State.

Art. 17th. The territory of the State is divided:

For electoral effects, in circles.

For political and judicial administration, in departments, and these in districts. The divisions here mentioned, and the necessary subdivisions, will be determined by the law.

Art. 18th. Bocas del Toro, Darien, and Tilas del Archipelago territories may have a special organization.

TITLE VII.

DEPARTMENTS.

Art. 19th. For each department there shall be a Prefect, elected by the people.

Art. 20th. The Prefect in his department is the immedaite agent of the President of the State, and as such he is to obey the President's constitutional and legal orders, and to make them obeyed by all his subordinates.

Art. 21st. The attributes of the Prefect are:

1. To obey, to execute, and to make others execute the constitution and the laws of the State, and the judicial sentences, provisional judgments, and peremptory orders issued by the public functionaries who constitutionally or legally may exercise jurisdiction.

2. To make the public functionaries of the department fulfil their duties completely; and

3. To exercise the other functions which may be prescribed by law.

TITLE VIII.

DISTRICT.

Art. 22nd. In each district there shall be an "Alcalde," charged of its political administration with the functions which the law may attribute to him.

Art. 23rd. Every district has the right to administer its own

affairs, through a corporation elected annually, according to the rules established by law.

Art. 24th. The law creates or abolishes the districts, changes their limits, establishes rules for their administration, and delegates to them all necessary faculties.

Art. 25th. No district can be created or abolished without the votes of two-thirds of the Deputies present at the sitting in each and every debate of the proposed new law.

TITLE IX.

GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE.

Art. 26th. The Government of the State is popular, elective, alternative, representative, and responsible; and the public power is divided for its administration into elective, legislative, executive, and judicial.

Art. 27th. No person can simultaneously exercise employments corresponding to two or more of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers.

Art. 28th. All matters which may be an object of legislation or of government, and which have not been delegated to the general Government by the national constitution, pertain to the State without dependence or subordination to any other power.

TITLE X.

ELECTIVE POWERS.

Art. 29th. The elective power is exercised by the citizens of the State, and by the corporations charged of the nomination, or the collection and registry of votes, and of the declaration of the election according to the constitution and the law.

TITLE XI.

LEGISLATIVE POWER.

Art. 30th. The legislative power is placed in, and is exercised by a Corporation denominated Legislative Assembly.

Art. 31st. The Legislative Assembly shall be composed of Deputies elected by the people in every electoral circle, at the rate of one for every five thousand inhabitants, and one more for a remainder of not less than two thousand five hundred; but although the population of a circle may not amount to five thousand inhabitants, it shall still elect one Deputy.

Art. 32nd. The President, the Court Magistrates, the Attorney-General, the Auditor of Public Accounts, and the Administrator of the Revenue, cannot be elected Deputies to the Legislative Assembly. "Neither can be elected the functionaries nominated at the will of the National Executive power, or the President of the State, the functionaries who may exercise authority or jurisdiction, nor the military chiefs in service, in all the territory of the electoral circle that makes the election." (*Sic.*)

Art. 33rd. When any one holding employment from the executive power, and who can be elected Deputy, may obtain and accept that election, his former employment shall be vacant.

Art. 34th. When any individual once assumes the office of Deputy, he cannot accept any employment from the President of the State, till the period of his election has expired. He can only accept the Secretaryship of State; but, on entering into his office, his place in the Assembly shall be vacant.

Art. 35th. The Deputies to the Assembly shall be elected for a period of two years, which shall be reckoned from the 1st of September following their election. They are indefinitely re-eligible, irresponsible for the opinions they may emit in the Assembly, and they enjoy immunity in their persons and property.

Art. 36th. The immunity is, that no civil action can be insti-

tuted against them, nor can they be detained, arrested, imprisoned, nor in any way deprived of their liberty for criminal nor correctional motives, without having previously been suspended from office by the Assembly; and this immunity is enjoyed by the Deputies during all the time of the Sessions, one month previous, and the necessary days to enable them to return to their homes, which days (never to be more than thirty), shall be reckoned at the rate of one for every two myriamètres.

Art. 37th. The Deputies to the Assembly are considered as in the service of the State, whilst enjoying immunity; therefore, no writ whatever can cause them any prejudice during that time which has not been notified to them personally, unless it has been notified to their proxies, if they have any.

Art. 38th. In the election for Deputies, a number double of that corresponding to the respective electoral circle is to be voted for; those obtaining the relative majority of votes are principal Deputies; and those following, in number equal to the principal Deputies, are the substitutes. Every case of equality shall be decided by lot.

The substitutes replace the principals, following the order of the majority of votes they may have obtained.

Art. 39th. The Assembly shall meet in the capital of the State, on the first day of September of every year, and shall act in a body during the time it may deem necessary. It will also meet extraordinarily when convened by the President of the State, or by resolution of the majority of its members, who shall give notice to the rest, that they may opportunely concur.

Art. 40th. When any grave motive may make it necessary, the Assembly may meet in another place, or may remove to that place its sessions for a time.

Art. 41st. The Assembly cannot open nor continue its sessions without the presence of the majority of its members; and in extraordinary sessions, besides that majority, it must appear that the members have been cited one month previously.

Art. 42nd. The Assembly shall make regulations, in which the order of its proceedings and discussion of affairs shall be

established, and in which also the sitting-hours shall be precisely stated, so that, out of those hours, the Assembly cannot meet nor decree anything binding the State.

Art. 43rd. The attributes of the Legislative Assembly are:

1. To qualify the election of its members.

2. To dictate the laws and legislative acts which it may deem convenient in all matters which may be the subject of a law, and of the competency of the State, and to interpret, reform, or abolish any laws or legislative acts of force.

3. To examine the votes for the President of the United States of Colombia, and Magistrates of the Supreme Federal Court.

4. To examine the votes, and to declare the election of the Senators, Plenipotentiary, and Representatives to the National Congress.

5. To examine the votes for President, Court Magistrates, and Attorney-General of the State, and to declare the election.

6. To elect, by absolute majority of votes, the President's, Court Magistrate's, and Attorney-General's substitutes; the Auditor of Public Accounts and his substitute; the Administrator of the Revenue, and other functionaries whose nomination may be attributed to it (the Assembly) by law.

The vacancy left by the absence of these functionaries during the prorogation of the Assembly, shall be filled in the manner prescribed by law.

The Substitute's period is one common year; that of the Auditor of Public Accounts and of the Administrator of the Revenue shall be determined by law.

7. To designate within the fifteen days immediately following the President's entry into office, two chiefs of the State forces, holding rank of colonel or general, as disposable for any service that may occur.

8. To appropriate the sums which may be taken from the State Treasury for each financial period's expenditure, which period shall be of one common year. In time of peace the sums thus appropriated shall not exceed the probable revenue.

9. To order the sale of State property.

10. To fix annually the public forces for the service of the State.

11. To grant amnesties and general pardons for grave motives of public utility.

12. To create employments necessary for the service of the State, and to establish regulations for their provision, salaries, and fulfilment of duties.

13. To demand from the President of the State an account of his operations, and any written or verbal information it may require for the better transaction of its affairs.

Art. 44th. The Assembly cannot delegate any one of its functions.

Art. 45th. The Deputies to the Assembly, whilst such, cannot make in their own name, nor in that of any other person, any contract with the President of the State, nor obtain privileges, recompense, pensions, nor favours. They can neither admit from any government, company, or individual, powers of attorney to act in such matters as may have relation to the Assembly.

Art. 46th The Secretaries and the Attorney-General are admitted to all discussions in the Assembly, but without a vote.

TITLE XII.

ENACTMENT OF THE LAWS.

Art. 47th The draft of a law may be introduced by the Deputies and by the President of the State.

Art. 48th. Every draft of a law shall undergo three debates, each one on a different day; and in each debate the relative majority of the members present is necessary, they forming a quorum, excepting the cases for which the present constitution may require a greater number of affirmative votes in particular matters.

Art. 49th. The laws are headed thus:

"Law of of of

The Legislative Assembly of the State of Panamá Disposes."

Should there be any motive part, it shall go before the word "Disposes."

Art. 50th. When the draft of a law is proposed by the Assembly, it shall be discussed in three debates on different days, and, when passing the majority required by the constitution, it shall be sent to the Executive Power with a duplicate, that he may sanction it, or present objections to it.

Art. 51st. Within six days after having received the draft of a law, the President of the State shall return one of the copies with his sanction, or with the objections that he may have thought proper to make. Every draft not returned within the specified time shall become a law of the State, and as such it shall be observed. Yet if, in the meantime, the Assembly has closed its sessions, the draft must be sanctioned, unless the Assembly is immediately and extraordinarily convened, and there should be time to submit the objections to its consideration.

Art. 52nd. When a draft is returned with objections, it is discussed anew, and the Assembly agrees, or does not agree, to the objections made. Whatever may be the objection made by the President of the State, the Assembly may insist on the original terms of the draft, with only the majority required by this constitution to approve the draft in question, as if it were in its third debate.

Art. 53rd. When the draft is reformed according to the ideas of the President of the State, or when the same is again presented by the Assembly, insisting on the identical first terms, it cannot be objected to, and it must be sanctioned by the Executive. Excepting these two cases, every draft objected to and altered by the Assembly, in virtue of the objection, must pass through the proceedings established for the second and third debates, and can be again objected to.

TITLE XIII.

EXECUTIVE POWER.

Art. 54th. The Executive Power is exercised by a functionary called "President of the State," and by his agents, as appointed by the law.

Art. 55th. The President of the State shall remain in office for a period of two years, reckoned from the 1st of October following his election, and he shall be nominated by the relative majority of the votes of the citizens of the State who may vote in the election.

Art. 56th. The President of the State cannot be re-elected before the expiration of one constitutional period after having ceased from office.

Art. 57th. In case of temporary or indefinite absence of the President of the State, a substitute shall assume this title and the President's functions. The Assembly shall elect in each ordinary sessions, by absolute majority of votes, five substitutes, and shall designate the order in which they are, when necessary, to replace the President. If no one of the substitutes is able to exercise immediately after the vacancy which may occur, the functions of President of the State, the Secretaries of State shall exercise them according to their seniority, until the President or one of his substitutes can take charge of the office.

Art. 58th. The President, before entering into office, shall make the constitutional promise before the Assembly, if it should be sitting. The law will name the authority before which it shall be made during the prorogation of the Assembly.

Art. 59th. The attributes of the President of the State are:

1. To obey and to execute the constitution and laws of the State, and to make them be obeyed and executed.

2. To dispose of the public forces of the State, to maintain order and tranquillity in it, and for other objects which the public service may require.

3. To suspend from office the functionaries of the State Treasury nominated by the Assembly, when they may have committed any of the offences which, according to law, gives reason for the suspension.

4. To nominate and to dismiss at his will the agents designated by law, and who are not according to the constitution elected by the people.

5. To provide for any employment the nomination to which may not have been attributed by law to other functionaries.

6. To grant special pardon for political offences whenever a grave motive of public convenience may demand it, and on previously hearing the Court's opinion, but not during the sessions of the Assembly, nor for offences committed against it.

7. To enter into agreements personally, or through commissioners named by him, with the governments of the other States, or with private contractors, whenever it may be necessary, for the construction of public works, or for other objects of interest to the State; but such agreements cannot be carried into effect without the Assembly's approbation, unless they have been entered into with the Assembly's authorization, and in conformity with the laws established by it.

8. To present to the Assembly on the first day of its ordinary sessions, a written information of the state of affairs in the several branches of the administration, and of the course they may have taken during the last fiscal year, proposing whatever he may deem convenient.

9. To present, together with the information, a general account of all the fiscal operations corresponding to the last fiscal year, and the draft of the "presupposed revenue and expenditure" for the following period.

10. To transmit to the Assembly the written accounts which, within eight days after its meeting, the Secretaries must present to him relative to the affairs of their respective charges.

11. To have every legislative act which may have been sanctioned and ordered to be executed, according to the constitution, published within six days, if it be not a code, and within sixty if it be, the days to be reckoned from the date of the sanction, and to have it promulgated, after its being printed, within six days in the capital of the State, and within thirty days in the other parts of the State.

12. To attend to the exact collection and proper employment of the revenue of the State.

13. To nominate within the first month of his official period from the two military chiefs designated by the Assembly, the first and second Commander General of the forces of the State.

The period of their duration is the same as that of the President.

14. To attend to the prompt and exact administration of justice, moving through those exercising the public ministry, the trial of all delinquents, and the speedy conclusion of the civil suits which may be examined by the judges and tribunals of the State.

15. The other duties and functions which the law may prescribe.

Art. 60th. The President has agents in the departments and in the districts. The agents in the departments are called Prefects, and are elected by the people; those in the districts are called "Alcaldes," and are nominated by the authority or corporation determined by law.

Art. 61st. For the administration of affairs pertaining to the President, he shall have the secretaries determined by law, whom he will nominate and dismiss at his will.

Art. 62nd. No order of the President of the State shall be obeyed, if it be not authorized with the signature of the respective secretary, excepting only the decree nominating or dismissing the same secretaries.

Art. 63rd. The President cannot in any case provide against the constitution nor the laws.

TITLE XIV.

JUDICIAL POWER.

Art. 64th. The judicial power is exercised by a supreme jury, by a court of the State, by the departmental juries, by the district judges, and by the other tribunals and judicatures which the law may establish.

Art. 65th. Persons employed in the administration of justice cannot be employed in any other branch of the public service of the State.

Art. 66th. No functionary of the judicial branch, with jurisdiction can be suspended from the exercise of his office till he has been declared amenable to the law, nor can he be deprived of his office but by judicial sentence.

Art. 67th. The departmental judicatüres and the functions of the judges shall be determined by law. In every district there shall be one judge at least.

Art. 68th. The judicial power of the State is independent. The suits begun in conformity with its special legislation shall end in the State without being subject to the examination of any foreign authority, when they are matters of the exclusive competence of the State.

§ The indemnities which the Union may have to grant for acts violating individual guarantees, acknowledged in the 15th Article of the National Constitution, and in the 2nd of this Constitution, which may be committed by functionaries of the State, shall be imputed to the State, which shall be responsible to the Federal treasury for the pecuniary impost of the indemnity granted.

The resolution in the present article does not preclude the responsibility incurred by the functionary who may have been the cause of the indemnity, after judgment which shall be conducted according to the penal laws of the State.

TITLE XV.

SUPREME JURY.

Art. 69th. The Supreme Jury is composed of five citizens nominated annually by the Assembly, within the three first days of ordinary sessions, in separate elections, and by the absolute majority of votes.

Art. 70th. The attributes of the Supreme Jury are:

1. To examine the criminal causes instituted against the President, the Court Magistrates, and the Attorney-General. In this case its functions are reduced to declare that there are sufficient grounds for trial, to decree the suspension from office, and to deliver the defendant to the competent judge.

2. To try and decide the responsibilities incurred by the President, his Secretaries, the Court Magistrates, and the Attorney-General.

TITLE XVI.

COURT OF THE STATE.

Art. 71st. The Court of the State is composed of three Magistrates, who remain in office during two years, are elected by the absolute majority of the citizens who may vote, and can be re-elected.

The period shall be reckoned from 1st of October nearest the election.

Art. 72nd. The attributes of the Superior Court of the State are:

1. To examine and decide the criminal causes instituted against the President, Court Magistrates, and the Attorney-General.

2. To examine the responsibilities incurred by the Auditor of Public Accounts, the Administrator of the Revenue, Prefects, Departmental Judges, and Attorneys, and the other functionaries determined by law.

3. To examine and decide the litigations which may arise about contracts entered into by the President.

4. To examine and decide the criminal causes instituted against the Prefects, Departmental Judges, and Attorneys, and the Administrator of the Revenue, decreeing, as the case may be, the suspension from office of the respective functionary.

5. Whatever others may be prescribed by law.

TITLE XVII.

PUBLIC MINISTRY.

Art. 73rd. The Public Ministry is exercised by the Legislative Assembly, by the Attorney-General, by the Departmental Attorneys, and the other agents appointed by law.

Art. 74th. The Legislative Assembly can accuse before the Supreme Jury, through an attorney selected from amongst its members, the functionaries who are amenable before said jury, according to the 70th article of this constitution.

Art. 75th. The Attorney-General of the State and his substi-

tute are elected in the same manner and for the same period as the Court Magistrates and their substitutes.

Their period shall be reckoned from the 1st of October following their election.

Art. 76th. The Attorney-General of the State acts before the court in all criminal and civil proceedings in which the State may be, or may have to be a party.

Art. 77th. The Attorney-General has the following attributes:

1. To move the suspension of the President of the State when a criminal cause shall be instituted against him.

2. To accuse, criminally, before the competent tribunal, the President of the State and his Secretaries, the Court Magistrates and their Secretary, the Administrator of the Revenue, the Prefects, and the Departmental Judges and Attorneys.

3. To attend to the punctual observance of the constitution and the laws, requiring the respective functionaries to execute them, whenever it may come to his knowledge that an authority is remiss in the execution of his duties, or that individual guarantees have to be attacked.

4. To exercise any other functions prescribed by law.

Art. 78th. The Attorney-General watches the proceedings in the administration of justice, moving whatever he may think convenient to their regularity, either before the tribunals or before the legislative power.

Art. 79th. The law will determine the manner of replacing the Attorney-General's substitute, and will organise the public ministry.

TITLE XVIII.

VARIOUS RESOLUTIONS.

Art. 80th. Every placeman or public functionary, before entering into office, must promise to obey and to execute the constitution and the laws of the State, and to faithfully discharge his duties. The law will determine before whom the promise is to be made by each functionary.

Art. 81st. No functionary or public corporation shall exercise any function or authority which has not been expressly attributed to them by the constitution or by the law.

Art. 82nd. All public functionaries are responsible before the authorities designated by the constitution or the law for exercising functions which are not expressly attributed to them, or for the bad performance of their duties.

Art. 83rd. No legislative act shall have a retro-active effect, excepting in penal matters, when later the law may impose less penalty in a general and permanent manner, and where the person responsible for a punishable act has not been sentenced.

Art. 84th. Nothing shall be paid out of the public treasury, for which a corresponding sum has not been appropriated by the Legislature, nor shall a greater sum be paid than the one appropriated. When for any motive the presupposed expenditure for one year cannot be voted, that of the preceding year is to be considered as repeated.

Art. 85th. The State protects primary instruction, consequently the districts which are in a capacity to do so, shall establish and maintain a school in which reading, writing, and whatever else may be prescribed by law, shall be taught gratis.

Art. 86th. The law will decide which are the districts which are treated of in the preceding article, and it may ordain that those districts that cannot maintain primary schools out of their proper funds, may be aided by the State.

Art. 87th. No taxes shall be imposed to defray expenses of the Churches established, or to be established, in the State. Every Church shall sustain itself with what its followers may voluntarily contribute.

Art. 88th. No alteration shall be made in the salaries of the President, the Attorney-General, nor the Judicial Functionaries, nor in the daily salary and viaticum of the deputies, in such a manner as to comprehend those who may be in office, nor those nominated to it.

Art. 89th. The duration of the President, of the Court Magistrates, and of the Attorney-General cannot be altered in a manner

such as to comprehend the persons who at that time may be in office, or who may be nominated to it.

Art. 90th. In every legislative act which reforms a law, that part of the law which remains of force shall be included.

Art. 91st. The doubts which may occur about the interpretation of any part of this constitution can be resolved by special law, approved in its last debate by two-thirds of the deputies who compose the Assembly.

TITLE XIX.

REFORM OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Art. 92nd. The Legislative Assembly cannot exercise the functions of a constitutional Assembly.

Art. 93rd. To introduce a reform in the constitution, it will be necessary, firstly, that a majority of two-thirds of the members present so decide it; and secondly, that a convention be convened by a law for that object.

Art. 94th. The convention called upon to reform the constitution, shall be composed of as many members as correspond to the ordinary Legislature, and elected by the direct suffrage of the citizens of the State. The election shall be made by circles.

TITLE XX.

DEPENDENCE AND RELATIONS OF THE STATE TO THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

Art. 95th. The Sovereign State of Panamá is subject to the general Government of the United States of Colombia, to whose authority it submits itself in all the affairs expressed in the sixteen paragraphs of the 17th article of the constitution, sanctioned on the 8th of May of 1863, in the city of Rio Negro.

Art. 96th. In compliance with the general constitution, the State consigns in this constitution what follows:

1. Communities, corporations, and religious associations and entities are incapable of acquiring real estate.

2. Real estate cannot be acquired with other character than that of being alienable and divisible at the exclusive will of the proprietor, and of being transmitted to heirs according to common law.

3. Foundations, donations, and legacies left in virtue of last will, trusts, and all settlements, under pretence of which a real estate would be withdrawn from free circulation, are for ever prohibited.

4. In future, perpetual endowments can only be furnished through the national or the State treasury, and in no wise through real estate.

5. There shall be no slaves in the State of Panamá.

Art. 97th. In the State there shall be no Federal functionaries having ordinary jurisdiction or authority in time of peace. Are excepted, the National Congress, the Supreme Federal Court, and the Executive Power of the nation, in such cases as, according to the constitution and the general laws, they may exercise their functions in the State of Panamá.

§ 1. The agents of the government of the Union in fiscal, military, and other affairs, shall ordinarily exercise their functions under the inspection of the authorities of the State, according to their ranks.

§ 2. The State authorities are also of the Federal order in whatever requires command or jurisdiction, and they must therefore discharge, under strict responsibility, which will be exacted from them by the high Federal powers in conformity with the National Constitution and the laws relative thereto, the duties which the high Federal powers may entrust to them, according to law.

Art. 98th. To sustain the national sovereignty, and to maintain public security and tranquillity, the government of the State acknowledges, as an attribute of the National Government the right of supreme inspection over religious worship, as may be determined by law, without the State's renouncing the attribute of exercising the same right.

Art. 99th. The State will contribute to raise the public force of the Union with its corresponding contingent, when necessary, by calling to service such citizens as may be called, in conformity with the constitution and laws of the State.

Art. 100th. The State does not agree to any change made by the general Government in the military chiefs commanding the State forces, excepting in cases, and with the formalities determined by the national law.

Art. 101st. The people vote in the State for the Senators Plenipotentiary, and Representatives to the National Congress; for the President of the United States of Colombia, and for the Magistrates of the Supreme Court, in conformity with what is enacted in the Articles 38, 39, 75, and 76, of the National Constitution. The election law of the State will determine the rules by which the elections are to be effected.

Art. 102nd. Senators Plenipotentiary, and Representatives of the National Congress, whilst enjoying immunity according to the National Constitution, shall have the same prerogatives in the State as its deputies to the Legislative Assembly.

Art. 103rd. In case of war between the United States of Colombia, and of foreign government, or of an interior commotion in arms against the general Government, the President of the State may employ the means indicated in the sixth article to furnish the general Government with the contingent of men, and other resources to be contributed by the State.

TITLE XXI.

TRANSITORY RESOLUTIONS.

Art. 104th. This Constitution shall be of force for the general functionaries of the State, from the day after its having been signed by the members of the Assembly; on which day the President of the Assembly shall send an authentic copy to the President of the State.

Art. 105th. The powers of the deputies and their substitutes,

elected according to the decrees of the 17th of September, and the 20th of October, of 1862, shall cease on the day on which the period of the deputies, to be elected in conformity to this Constitution and to the election law, that this Assembly will enact as a legislative body, may begin.

Art. 106th. The Assembly, as a legislative body, can be convened for extraordinary sessions, in conformity with the Constitution.

Art. 107th. When this constitution shall have been printed, the President of the State shall send a copy of it, with a declaration of its authenticity, to each of the following functionaries: to the President of the United States of Colombia; to the Presidents of the Senate of Plenipotentiaries, of the Chamber of Representatives, and of the Supreme Court; to the Attorney-General of the nation; and to the persons charged of the Executive Power in the States of the Colombian Union; and the Secretary of Government shall send a copy to the general functionaries of the State, and to the Prefects.

Art. 108th. The Prefects shall have this constitution promulgated in every district in the State, with all possible solemnity, on the 25th of July of the present year.

Art. 109th. This Constitution does not require the Executive Power's sanction that it may be executed.

Art. 110th. The Constitution, and all the Constitutional Acts, issued by the State before this Constitution, are abolished. The present one shall solely be of force.

Art. 111th. Before the popular elections take place, the President, the Court Magistrates, the Attorney-General of the State, the Administrator of the Reveuue, the Auditor of Public Accounts, the Prefects, the Departmental Judges and Attorneys, and these functionaries' substitutes, shall be named by the present Assembly, and shall remain in office till the 30th of September of 1864.

The persons charged of the Executive Power, and the other functionaries to whom this article alludes, who may be exercising their functions at the time of the popular election, cannot in that election, be re-elected to the same office.

Art. 112th. The present Assembly shall vote for the President of the United States of Colombia, and for the Magistrates of the Supreme Federal Court, according to the 75th and 79th articles of the National Constitution. The Assembly shall also elect the Senators Plenipotentiary, who, in conformity with the Federal Constitution, are to represent the State in the next legal periods.

Enacted in Panama, on the fourth of July, of the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three."

PANAMÁ RAILROAD TARIFF.

Price of Passage, $25; *Children under* 12 *years half-price*; *under* 6 *years quarter ditto.*

SPECIAL RATES OF FREIGHT.

Agricultural implements, 25 cents per foot.
Acids—Muriatic, sulphuric and nitric, 5 cents per lb.
Baggage—Passengers' (50lbs. free) 5 cents per lb.
Carriages, 20 cents per cubic foot.
Coal, $5 per ton of 2240lbs.
Cocoanuts, $1 per hundred.
Cattle, at owners' risk, ordinary trains, over eight, $5 each. Cattle, ditto, ditto, under eight, $7 each.
Cattle, steamer-trains, owners' risk, special agreement, $25 each. Coke-coal, $7 per ton of 2240lbs.
Cartridges, with balls, 5 cents per lb.
Copper ore, in bags, three-eights of 1 cent per lb.
Cotton, in compressed bales, 18 cents per cubic foot.
Demijohns, 50 cents each.
Dye-woods, $7 per ton of 2240lbs,
Express freight, by steamer-trains, 80 cents per cubic foot.
Furniture, such as tables, chairs, bureaus, bedsteads, glass shades, &c., 25 cents per cubic foot.
Gunpowder, separate cars, 5 cents per lb., net.
Gold in dust, coined, or manufactured, one quarter per cent. on value. Hides, 15 cents on each.
Horses at owners' risk, steamer-trains, special agreement, $40 each.
Horses, on other than steamer-trains, $20 each.
Ice, $10 per ton, of 2240 lbs.
Jewellery, one quarter per cent. on value.
Lumber—white pine, $10 per M.
,, yellow ditto, $12 per M.
,, oak, $15 per M.
,, cedar and mahogany, $15 per M.
Mules, at owners' risk, special agreement, $20 each.
Oil—whale and palm, towards the Atlantic, 4 cents per gallon.

Patent fuel, $5 per ton of 2240lbs.
Pitch, $1 per barrel.
Platina, three-eighths per cent. on value.
Poultry—chickens, 75 cents per dozen; turkeys, $1 50c. per dozen.
Precious stones, three-eighths per cent. on value.
Quicksilver, 50 cents per iron flask.
Rosin, $1 per barrel.
Shingles, $3 per M.
Silver, in bars, coined, or manufactured, three-eighths per cent. on value.
Silver ore, one-half per cent. on value.
Swine, at owners' risk, $2 each.
Sheep, at owners' risk, by passenger-trains, $12 50 cents.
Tin ores, three-eighths of one cent per lb.
Tar, $1 per barrel.

CLASSIFICATION OF FREIGHT.

First-class freight, comprising merchandise in boxes and bales, not otherwise enumerated, 50 cents per cubic foot.
Second-class freight, as per description annexed, one and a half cents per pound.
Third-class freight, ditto, ditto, one cent per pound.
Fourth, ditto ditto, ditto ditto, three-quarters of a cent per pound.
Fifth-class freight, ditto ditto, half a cent per pound.
Sixth ditto ditto, ditto, ditto quarter of a cent per pound.

All articles not specially named to be assimilated.

First Class—50 cents per cubic foot.

Books, boots, bonnets, cinnamon, clothing, cigars.
Cards (playing), casiate, lignea, caps, drugs.
Dry goods, not elsewhere enumerated.
Eau-de-Cologne, essential oils, essences.
Flannel, fireworks, furs not otherwise enumerated.
Feathers—glassware, fine, stained, and plate, at owners' risk. Looking-glasses at owners' risk.
Gloves—hats, fur or felt, and of Guayaquil or Panamá straw.
Harness, hosiery—light goods, not elsewhere specified.
Medicines, millinery, matches.
Musical instruments—oil-cloth, organs.
Paper-hangings, paper, writing and printing.
Pianos, perfumery, percussion caps, poultry, not elsewhere specified; porcelain and chinaware, fine paintings and engravings—silks, stationery.
Shoes, saddlery, statuary, at owners' risk, sewing machines.
Toys and fancy goods.

Second Class—One and a half cent per pound.

Almonds, anchovies, aniseed.
Balsams, beeswax, baskets, britannia-ware.
Brandy—bellows, cordials, carpeting, chocolate.
Cochineal, corks and corkwood, chandeliers at owners' risk; clocks.
Confectionery, clay pipes, eggs, firearms, fruits (dried).
Groceries, not elsewhere specified.
German silverware—indigo.
Lamps (ornamental).
Mattresses, mustard, nuts, not elsewhere specified, oars.
Preserved meats and fruits, plated goods.
Picture frames, platform scales.
Spices, straw for manufacturing, soap (fancy), sardines.
Tea, tree-nails, tobacco (manufactured).
Tortoise-shell, trees and plants in mats, turtle (live.)
Varnish, in tins; veneers, wooden ware, wooden blocks.

Third Class—1 cent per pound.

Alcohol, brooms, brushes, balsam of copaivi.
Bark, blankets.
Candles, cutlery.
Gravestones—hay, in compressed bales.
Liquors, leather (dressed), nails, copper, and brass.
Oil (towards Pacific).
Ornaments of stone, clay, marble, alabaster.
Paints, dry in oil—rubber, hose, and packing, sarsaparilla, spirit of turpentine.
Tin ware, type, tubing, copper and brass.
Tobacco (unmanufactured), tacks.
Varnish (in bbls.), wool of alpaca or vicunia.
Whalebone, wine in baskets and boxes.

Fourth Class—three-quarters of a cent per pound.

Ale—beef, butter, blacking.
Bacon, in casks; borax, bread, bottles (empty), burlaps, bath bricks.
Cheese, cider, copper-sheathing and spikes, castings of copper, brass or bronze.
Cotton waste, crackers; crockery, not elsewhere specified, copperas.
Deer skins, in bales; domestics, dowlas.
Earthenware, in casks or crates—fish, flour, felt (for sheathing).
Grindstones, glassware (coarse), window glass, &c.

Goat skins, in bales—hams in casks, hardware.
Herrings, hoops of wood or iron, hollow ware (iron).
Hemp, manufactures, such as canvas, osnaburgs and bagging.
Hats, coarse country straw of palm leaf—india rubber, lard.
Matches, meal, millstones, machinery, molasses.
Mats, matting, moulds, oakum, oats, orchilla weed.
Pans, pork (salt), porter, potatoes, pickles—rice, rope.
Sheep-skins, in bales—stoves.
Sugar; steel, in bars and bundles.
Salt, soap (common), sago, shot (in bags).
Safes (iron), seeds, shovels, spades, screws.
Soda-water, syrups, sugar-mills.
Tea (towards Atlantic), tallow, tool-handles, twine.
Vegetables, vinegar, vices (iron), wool of sheep.
Window-glass, wire (brass and copper).
Wine in wood, wrapping paper, yarn (of cotton), zinc in sheets.

Fifth Class—half a cent per pound.

Anvils, anchors, bananas, beans, copper in bars.
Canon, cables (iron), cocoa, coffee, cannon-balls and shot (iron), crowbars, corn (Indian), chalk.
Fruits of the Isthmus, not otherwise enumerated.
Hollow shot, ice in quantity, iron (old), hoop-iron.
Iron castings (not machinery), sheet-iron.
Iron in bars, iron cables, iron tubing.
Iron boiler-plates, iron bars and pipes.
Lemons, lime, lead (in pigs, sheet, and pipes).
Nails (iron), oranges, old junk (rope).
Pearl shells in sacks, plantains, peas.
Spikes (iron), whiting, zinc (ingots).

Sixth Class—One quarter of a cent per pound.

Borate of lime, brick, cement, iron (in pigs), lime.
Guano in bags—iron in pigs, lime, marble for building purposes, including flooring-tiles and paving.
Nitrate of soda, in bags—stone, for building purposes, including paving-stones.

SPECIAL CONDITIONS.

Freights to be charged on gross weight of packages, and to be paid in advance, or before the delivery of goods.

All claims for loss or damage to be presented within five days, otherwise they will not be paid.

The Company will not be responsible for articles of extra value beyond $100 per package, unless declared and way-billed accordingly.

No package, however small, will be transported for less than *one dollar*.

The Company will not be responsible for the breakage or loss of contents of any demijohn or jug.

Storage will be charged on all goods remaining in the Company's store-houses after twenty-four hours, unless by special agreement otherwise.

All bills payable in American currency, or its equivalent.

Goods shipped for California under through bills of lading must be corded and sealed at the New York Custom House, or they will be liable to the payment of duties in San Francisco.

Jan. 1, 1865.

NICARAGUA RAILROAD.

The following is a translated copy of the contract entered into by Commander Pim, R. N., and the Government of Nicaragua, for the construction of a railroad across that Isthmus :—

(COPY.)

The undersigned Licentiate, Don Antonio Salva, Finance Minister of the Supreme Government of Nicaragua, especially commissioned, and Bedford Clapperton Trevelyan Pim, Commander in the English Navy, for himself and for the Company that will be formed, have agreed on the following contract :—

ARTICLE 1st.—The Republic of Nicaragua concedes to Commander Bedford Pim, of the Royal Navy, and to the Company he proposes to form, the heirs, successors, administrators or assignees of the same, the right of establishing a transit from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, by means of a railroad from Monkey Point on the Atlantic, to Corinto on the Gulf of Fonseca, on the Pacific, passing along the northern side of the Lake of Nicaragua, crossing the Tipitapa or Panalaya, and continuing along the southern side of Lake Managua in its entire length to Leon and either entrance indicated above, also the right of preference for any branches proposed by foreigners, or that he or the Company may deem proper to undertake.

ART. 2nd.—It concedes also the unoccupied lands which may be requisite for the route, its necessary and accessory works, as road, wet and dry docks, wharfs, landings, places, stations, warehouses, coal depôts, hotels, buildings,

electric telegraphs, convenient or half an English mile on each side of the railroad, and in the case of lands belonging to towns or private persons, the right of appropriation in accordance with the laws of the republic, on payment of the just value of said lands as well as damages as decided by experts; such value being the actual price, without reference to that which it might subsequently attain from the passage of a railroad.

ART. 3rd.—It concedes all the right of using for the railroad, or for any accessory works the national products or materials which the unoccupied lands may contain, without any indemnification, and also any national products or materials contained in lands of private persons, upon payment for the appropriation according to law; provided that previous to the occupation of lands or taking possession of the materials, notice is given to the owner and the Prefect of the Department.

ART. 4th.—The foregoing concession will continue for fifty (50) years, counting from the conclusion of the works; provided the works commence within two years of the final ratification of this contract and are concluded within the seven (7) following years; and in case the works are not commenced or not concluded within the time stipulated, this charter shall be absolutely forfeited.

ART. 5th.—The railway enterprise shall enjoy exemption from any import duty on all the material and machinery which they may introduce for their works, and also the persons engaged on the works shall not be interfered with, except only in case of offence against law and police, or foreign war, or of military services of military men in time of peace, without exception, but the establishment of the railroad shall not be an asylum for persons prosecuted by the legitimate authority, neither can any foreign flag be used in such establishment, unless by persons representing foreign governments.

ART. 6th.—In the event of an inter-oceanic canal being constructed, the works thereof shall not be embarrassed by the Railroad Company; but it is expressly understood that the right of Commander Bedford O. T. Pim and Company, the heirs, successors, administrators or assignees of the same is exclusively only for a railroad from the western extreme of Lake Managua and the Port of Tamarinda, which is exclusive to the westward, and that each exchange is not to be understood as against Nicaragua or Central American enterprise.

ART. 7th.—The persons, goods, or mails, in transit from ocean to ocean by the Bedford Pim Railroad, shall be exempt from any trouble or impost, and the ships which may arrive at the extreme ports shall also be free from any anchorage or tonnage dues, but the republic reserves to itself the right to make what regulations it considers necessary in regard to persons who may come to reside in the territory of the republic for however short a time, and to impose the usual import dues upon whatever articles are intended

for interior consumption, and the railroad shall not knowingly permit such regulations to be eluded or infringed, but on the contrary, loyally assist the Government in their fulfilment.

ART. 8th.—The questions that may arise between the Company and any inhabitant of the Republic shall be subject to Nicaraguan laws and tribunals, and those which may arise between the Government and the Company shall be settled within the republic, and according to its laws, by the arbitration of two important persons, whether natives or foreigners, appointed by each party, and in addition of a third chosen by the aforesaid in the event of their disagreement, and in case the two arbitrators cannot agree in the nomination, the ballot shall be decided, amongst four of whom, two shall be nominated by each arbitrator.

ART. 9th.—The Republic shall receive two (2) per cent. on the gross produce of the undertaking, which sum shall be verified by the books of the Company and paid annually.

ART. 10th.—The Railroad Company shall have entire liberty of action, and of regulation in the operations of the transit, so that they shall only be responsible for any damage which it may cause, whether it be to persons or property by any default without any indemnification.

ART. 11th.—The usual roads on the lands through which the railroad is to pass are not to be occupied or cut without being consistently established.

ART. 12th.—The treaties celebrated with other nations in respect of transit of passengers, goods, and mails, as also their protection and the tariffs, being the law of Nicaragua, the Company shall submit to their stipulations.

ART. 13th.—The Company shall always recognise the sovereignty of the Republic over the territory of the concession from ocean to ocean, without interfering in any way with any other authority.

ART. 14th.—At the expiration of this contract for any proved default on the part of the Company, in regard to stipulations in form of the Republic, the railroad and all the accessory works, real and moveable, belonging to the transit, and which shall exist in the Republic, shall pass into the possession of the Government.

ART. 15th.—It is especially stipulated that Commander Bedford C. T. Pim and Company, the heirs, successors, administrators, or assigns of the same shall never alienate the present contract or the works made under it to any foreign government, company, or individual, without the consent of the government of Nicaragua.

ART. 16th.—All persons employed in the Company must maintain the strictest neutrality in anything relating to the political affairs of Nicaragua upon pain of immediate dismissal when the Government gives notice to the Company of their failing to observe this regulation.

ART. 17th.—The contract shall be of no effect without the acceptance of Congress, and without the consultation of the Executive with the Govern-

ments of Guatamala and Costa Rica, for which purpose sixty days are given as time for granting the privilege.

Given in the Hall of the Chamber of Deputies, 16th March, 1864.

In witness whereof, we have signed the same in duplicate with our own hands in Nicaragua, on the 5th day of March A.D., 1864.

ANTONIO SILVA,
BEDFORD C. T. PIM.

I, Bedford C. T. Pim, Commander in the English Navy, in my own name and that of the Company I am about to form, hereby accept, confirm, and ratify the railroad contract, which I have signed this day with the Commissioner of the Supreme Government of Nicaragua, Licentiate Antonio Silva, Minister of Finance.

In witness whereof, I sign the same with my own hand in Nicaragua, the 5th day of March, A.D. 1864.

BEDFORD C. T. PIM.* †

* Published in "Panamá Star and Herald."

† Since the above was in print, I have been informed that Captain Pim has obtained an extension of the term of his contract to ninety-nine years, with an increased grant of lands and other privileges.

CONTRACT BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF NEW GRANADA AND THE PANAMÁ RAILROAD COMPANY.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES, GIFTS, FRANCHISES, AND EXEMPTIONS GRANTED TO THE COMPANY.

TITLE I.—*Grant of Privileges.*

ARTICLE I.

The Government of New Granada, grants to the Company, styled the PANAMÁ RAILROAD COMPANY, its representatives or assigns, the exclusive right of building a railroad between the two oceans, across the Isthmus of Panamá.

ARTICLE II.

The privilege of building a railroad granted to the Company by the preceding article, shall continue in force forty-nine years, to be computed from the day of the completion of the road and its being opened to public use. Nevertheless, said privilege shall terminate before the expiration of the said forty-nine years, if before their expiration the Government shall have resumed the privilege by virtue of the right and power reserved by the following conditions.

At the expiration of twenty years, counting from the day on which the Railroad shall have been completed and opened to public use, the Government may resume the privilege for the benefit of New Granada, on paying the sum of five millions of dollars as the whole amount of indemnification. If the privilege be not not resumed at that date, it shall continue in force ten years longer for the benefit of the Company, at the end of which the Government may resume it, on paying four millions of dollars. If the privilege be not resumed even at the expiration of the last-mentioned period, then it shall continue in force for ten years longer, at the expiration

whereof the Government may resume the same on the payment of two millions of dollars. To entitle the Government to avail itself of the rights thus reserved to it of resuming the privilege granted, it must notify the Company of its intention so to do at least one year before the day of the completion of either of the three periods above mentioned.

ARTICLE III.

The sum to be paid to the Company on the resumption of the privilege in either of the three cases mentioned in the preceding article, shall be in specie, in American dollars, without deduction; it being well understood that in all other cases in which mention is made of dollars in this contract, it is of American dollars, without deduction.

ARTICLE IV.

The Company shall, after the resumption of the privilege, remain in possession of the lands granted to it gratuitously and perpetually by the eighteenth article of this contract.

ARTICLE V.

The railroad from ocean to ocean shall be completed within six years, to commence from the expiration of four months after the present act of concession shall have been approved by the Congress of the Republic, and the fact of its completion shall be proved before the Governor of Panamá at the request of the Company, by a statement drawn up on each side, after discussion between it and the agent or agents of the Executive Power, commissioned for that purpose.

ARTICLE VI.

While the exclusive privilege granted to the Company, or persons engaged in the enterprise of building the railroad from one ocean to the other, continues in force, the Government of the Republic agrees neither itself to build nor to grant to any other Company whatever, under any title whatever, the right of building any other railroad on the Isthmus of Panamá; and it is likewise stipulated that, while the said privilege continues in force, the New Granadian Government shall have no power to undertake, nor to permit any other person to undertake, without the concurrence and consent of said Company, the opening of any maritime canal to unite the two Oceans across the said Isthmus of Panamá.

ARTICLE VII.

During the whole term specified in the preceding article, and without interfering with the completion in due season of the railroad, the Company

shall have also the exclusive right of making across the Isthmus of Panamá any sort of road for wheel-carriages, either from ocean to ocean, or to any point on the River Chagres. Consequently, the New Granadian Government binds itself not to undertake, nor to permit any other Company or individual to undertake, during the term specified in this article, the building of any other Macdamised carriage-road, plank-road, or road of any other kind suitable for the use of wheel-carriages, between the two oceans, across the Isthmus of Panama; it being, nevertheless, well understood that the privilege of which this article treats, cannot and must not in any manner prevent the completion, preservation, and improvement of roads which already exist, or which are actually being constructed on the said Isthmus.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Company shall have, moreover, the exclusive privilege of navigating the Chagres River by steam power, until the railroad is completed from one ocean to the other, on the terms specified in this contract, and in accordance with its provisions; the Company, in the meantime being bound to keep constantly on said river one or more steamboats employed in transportation; but the provision in this clause shall not prevent steamboats, which may now be in said river, from continuing to navigate the same.

ARTICLE IX.

Exclusive privilege is also granted to the Company for forty-nine years:—

1st. To use the ports situated at the two *termini* of the railroad, required for the anchorage of vessels, and for the loading and unloading of goods, which are to pass over the said road.

2nd. To use the landings necessary, and especially those designed for the storage and free deposit of all goods and merchandise, admitted for transit across the Isthmus on the railroad built by the Company. By virtue of said privilege, the Company may collect as a compensation for the use of the line of communication, means of transportation, ports, landings, warehouses, and establishments of all kinds belonging to it, such tolls, storage, and carriage as the Company may think proper to establish.

ARTICLE X.

The Executive power shall determine the forms to be observed in the landing of goods on either ocean; and the intervention therein of the officers of the republic to prevent the effects destined for transit from one ocean to the other, from being left on the way, or fraudulently introduced for internal consumption. Said precautions shall be such as may tend to prevent all frauds to the injury of the public revenue, without delaying or embarrassing

the rapid despatch and transit of passengers and packages of merchandise, luggage, and goods of all kinds which may be subjects of lawful commerce.

ARTICLE XI.

During the progress of the Railroad towards completion, the Company may open to public use such portion thereof as may be passable and as may be judged proper to be put in use, as its partial completion progresses. The Company may also then enter proportionally into the enjoyment of the grants, privileges, and advantages, which form the subject of the present grant, in conformity with the provision of the second chapter of this contract.

ARTICLE XII.

The completion of one-half of the Railroad shall secure to the Company the absolute possession of the entire privilege hereby granted, and of all the rights appertaining to it; the Company, however, remaining always bound to complete the road within six years, in pursuance of article fifth, or in eight years, in case the period for such completion of the said road should be thus far extended, in default of which it shall incur the fines and penalties provided for in the aforementioned second chapter of this contract.

ARTICLE XIII.

The Company may give to the Railroad between the two oceans across the Isthmus of Panamá, such direction as it may judge most favourable for the enterprise; the points of departure and arrival, which it may consider most advantageous and convenient for the entrance and anchorage of vessels or for ports properly so called, and for wharves, dry docks, places for lighterage, landings, warehouses, stations, hotels, and establishments of all kinds, being at its free option; it being nevertheless stipulated that the provisions of this article shall be understood without prejudice to what is hereinafter provided in article fifty-second of this contract.

ARTICLE XIV.

The Company is also at liberty to select the mode which it may consider most favourable for the construction and working of the railroad, provided it be completed in such a manner that travellers and goods passing over it may be transported in twelve hours at the farthest from one ocean to the other, and *vice versâ*.

TITLE II.—*Grants of Lands.*

ARTICLE XV.

In consideration of the difficulties of the enterprise, and of the direct and indirect advantages which the republic must derive from it, various grants of lands are made to the Company, on the continental part of the Isthmus, comprised within the limits which bounded the provinces of Panamá and Veraguas on the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine. The Government of the republic grants, therefore, gratuitously to the Company, on the terms mentioned in this article:

1st. The lands which may be necessary for the building of the line of the railroad through its whole extent.

2nd. All the lands which it may require for the establishment of sea-ports, dry docks, river ports, landings, wharves, places for lighterage, warehouses, stations, hotels, and in general for all purposes necessary in the construction and working of the railroad.

ARTICLE XVI.

Although, according to what is expressed in the preceding article, the Company has no right to vacant lands on the islands adjacent to the Isthmus of Panamá; the Government of the republic, nevertheless, binds itself to grant to the Company all the vacant lands on the island of Manzanillo, in the Bay Limon, whenever the Company considers it proper to extend the works of the railroad to said island, so that one of its extremities terminates thereon.

ARTICLE XVII.

The grant of vacant lands, mentioned in the two preceding articles, is to be understood as referring to lands belonging to the republic. With regard to those which are the property of individuals, the Company must obtain them from their owners, after valuation and proper indemnification, in the manner specified in article twenty-first.

The lands granted by the Government of the republic, as specified in the two preceding articles, shall revert to its possession and jurisdiction immediately on the expiration of this privilege; and shall be restored to it by the Company on the dates fixed for that purpose, in the prescribed form, and agreeably to the conditions specified in the second chapter of this contract, wherein the duties and obligations assumed by the Company are set forth.

ARTICLE XVIII.

A grant is, moreover, made to the Company, gratuitously and in perpetuity, of one hundred thousand *fanegadas* of vacant land, in the provinces of

Panama and Veraguas, within the limits set forth in the first part of the fifteenth article, which may be increased to one hundred and fifty thousand, if such extent be found at the disposal of the Government in the two provinces above mentioned, so that the Government can pronounce them vacant; and the Company shall have liberty to select them, in the continental portion of said provinces, where it may judge most proper. It being stipulated, that in those which may be selected on the line of the road or in its vicinity, intervals shall be positively left, of equal extent to those which the Company reserves to itself, so that the Government of the republic may make grants or sales of land for other establishments, which may be made on said line or in the vicinity of the road.

The one hundred thousand *fanegadas* of land, or such number thereof, up to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand *fanegadas*, which may be at the disposal of the Government as vacant, and granted to the Company, may be used to make therein encampments for workmen, fields for cultivation, pastures for beasts of burden and cattle, places for cutting wood, for building or for fuel; and in general for establishments suitable for facilitating any industrial operations undertaken by the Company, especially those relating to colonization.

If, which is not to be expected, there should not be within the limits of the provinces of Panamá and Veraguas, mentioned in the preceding fifteenth article, the vacant lands necessary to secure to the Company the one hundred thousand *fanegadas* specified in this article, those which may be wanted to complete the one hundred thousand *fanegadas*, will be granted at the points which the said Company may designate in the continental part of the provinces of Carthagena, Santa Marta, Riohacha, and Choco; this grant, and the others mentioned in the present article, being understood in reference to the vacant lands which belong to the State, and to no others.

The Government of the republic will make no grants of vacant lands within the limits aforementioned of the provinces of Panama and Veraguas, until after those mentioned in this article have been delivered into the possession of the Company; saving, nevertheless, the right which any other person may have acquired by virtue of grants of the Granadian Government, anterior to the date of the present contract.

ARTICLE XIX.

The vacant lands granted to the Company by the eighteenth article of this contract, are given to it in full ownership; and the Company may freely dispose of them during the continuance of the privilege granted, and after the termination of said period, or the resumption of the said privilege.

ARTICLE XX.

The lands mentioned in the preceding article, and the lands appropriated for the railroad, shall be delivered to the Company as they may be requested, and agreeably to the provisions of the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth articles of this contract.

ARTICLE XXI.

When the lands required for building the railroad, for ports or any other appurtenances of the works of said road, are the property of individuals, the Company shall have the right to take them, by order of the Governors of the respective provinces, after valuation made, and just indemnification given to the owner, in conformity with the provisions of the law of June 2nd, 1848, defining the cases in which property may be taken for public use, and the forms to be observed in such cases.

ARTICLE XXII.

The delivery to the Company of the vacant lands granted gratuitously to it, shall be effected provisionally, so soon as they may be designated by the Company, after proof of their character as vacant lands, a survey and an appropriation to it by the Governor of the respective province. This provisional appropriation shall be submitted to the examination and approval of the Executive Power. So long as it shall not be confirmed, it shall only produce the effect of preventing any subsequent grants of the lands in favour of a third person; but from the time it has been examined and approved, in conformity with this article, it shall be equivalent to taking formal possession thereof.

ARTICLE XXIII.

The Company being at liberty to vary or modify the line of the railroad, if difficulties or obstacles should be found in carrying it out on the line first selected, may in such case change also, on the portion so varied, the location which it may have previously made of the vacant lands, which it can obtain gratuitously, according to the stipulations of the fifteenth article.

TITLE III.—*Rights, Franchises, and Exemptions.*

ARTICLE XXIV.

The Republic, in order to aid as far as possible on its part the enterprise of the Company, and to facilitate the success of its operations of all kinds, confers upon the Company the rights, franchises, and exemptions mentioned in the articles following:

ARTICLE XXV.

The enterprise is deemed of public utility: consequently the "Panama Railroad Company" has all the rights which the laws and regulations of the State confer upon the executive administration for national works.

ARTICLE XXVI.

The Company is authorized to propose to the Executive Power such regulations as it may judge proper for the police, security, use and preservation of its ways of communication, ports, works and establishments of all kinds; but such regulations shall not take effect without the express approval of the Executive Power, which even after having approved, may annul or amend them, if it think proper, proceeding always in conformity with the laws of the republic.

ARTICLE XXVII.

The rates of transportation or freight of money, carriage of merchandise or travellers over the railroad, of port dues, board and storage in its depôts and establishments, shall be fixed by the Company, and modified as it may judge proper, making them immediately known to the local authorities, in order that the public may be informed of them.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

All correspondence which may arrive from the territory of the republic or from foreign centuries, to be transported over the railroad, whatever may be its destination, must absolutely pass through the post-offices of New Granada, which shall open with the Company an annual account-current of postage, in order to compute the share of profits belonging to New Granada, in conformity with the provisions of the thirtieth article of this contract, and in order to guard against fraud in this respect.

ARTICLE XXIX.

To carry out the stipulation in the preceding article, the Company binds itself not to receive any other packages of correspondence than those delivered to it by the post-offices of New Granada, to be carried by the railroad to their port of embarkation, or to the point on the Isthmus for which they may be destined on the line of the said road, complying with the regulations which the Executive power may lay down on the subject, and also with those which may be given for the carrying on said road of the correspondence of foreign nations, which may be delivered to the Company by the officers of the Republic for that purpose.

ARTICLE XXX.

The Executive Power shall at all times determine what foreign nations may be permitted to transport their correspondence across the Isthmus of Panamá by the railroad; but in all cases in which the mails of foreign nations shall be permitted to pass by the Isthmus of Panamá, all contracts and pecuniary agreements for their transportation by the said railroad shall be made by the Company, and all the pecuniary proceeds of such contracts and agreements shall go into the funds of the Company as a branch of its profits. In compensation for this privilege, this Company undertakes to transport by the railroad, free of charge, all the mails of New Granada, and moreover to pay to the Government of the republic five per cent. on all sums of money which it may receive in virtue of said contracts and agreements, whether such sums proceed from contracts which the Company may enter into with foreign governments, or with other companies, or from the general regulations which it may establish for the carrying of the correspondence of nations which may not have entered into special contracts with it.

And it is also stipulated: 1st. That whatever may be the profit which the Company may receive by virtue of such contracts and agreements, in no case shall it on this account pay to the Government of New Granada less than ten thousand dollars per annum; 2nd. That this payment shall be over and above the three per cent. of the net profits of the enterprise to which New Granada is entitled; and 3rd. That the power of the Company to enter into such contracts or pecuniary agreements shall not be opposed in any manner to the contracts or agreements which now exist between the republic of New Granada and any foreign nation or nations, for the transportation of mails on the Isthmus of Panamá.

ARTICLE XXXI.

The services of all kinds which the Company is to perform on the railroad, during the continuance of its privilege, shall be performed exclusively by its agents, and with the materials belonging to it, unless it should choose to perform them in another way.

ARTICLE XXXII.

The Company may freely introduce into the Isthmus, without paying duties or taxes of any kind, all the implements, machines, iron tools, materials and manufactured articles intended for the construction, working, and preservation of the railroad, and also the articles required for the subsistence and clothing of the workmen employed in the work, during the whole period of the construction of the road; being subject in this respect to the regulations which the Executive may establish.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

No taxes or contributions, national, provincial, municipal, nor of any other kind, shall be imposed upon the railroad or upon its warehouses, furniture, machines or other works, property and effects of any kind belonging to it, and which in the judgment of the Executive power are necessary for the service of the said railroad or its dependencies; and in compensation it is expressly stipulated that, in every case and notwithstanding any provisions of this contract to the contrary, the troops, warlike stores, arms, clothing and other effects of the Government of the Republic, and persons coming to it as new settlers on account of the State, shall be transported gratuitously over the railroad at the charge and cost of the Company; and without the Government or such troops or colonists having to pay anything for freight or for any other cause.

ARTICLE XXXIV.

Passengers, money, merchandise, goods and effects of all kinds which may be transported across the Isthmus, to go from one ocean to the other by the railroad, shall be exempt from taxes and imposts, national, provincial, municipal, or of any other description. The same exemption is extended to all effects and merchandise which may remain on deposit in the ports, stores, and landings of the Company, destined either for the interior or for other countries; but the merchandise or effects, destined for consumption in the interior of the Republic, shall pay the duties and imposts established, or which may be established, when such goods leave the warehouses of the Company; to which end their delivery shall be conducted under the cognizance of the officers of the Republic, and in conformity with the laws and regulations laid down by the Executive.

ARTICLE XXXV.

Foreigners who may form settlements on the vacant lands granted gratuitously to the Company, shall be exempt during the space of twenty years from the date of the formation of such settlements, from all forced contributions, and from tithes and first-fruits on their agricultural property and their products for home consumption; they shall be entitled to receive letters of naturalization as soon as they solicit them, on fixing their residence in the territory of the Republic; and during the said term of twenty years from the formation of their settlements, they shall not be obliged to serve in the army, navy, or national guard, nor to take arms in defence of the republic, save in case of foreign invasion.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

Travellers passing from one sea to the other over the railroad shall not require any passport to pass over it, except in cases of foreign war or

internal political commotion, when the Government may deem the presentation of passports expedient for the security of the country or the preservation of public order. Nevertheless, persons who have been expelled from the territory of the Republic, or other individuals whom the laws may have forbidden to enter it, shall not pass over the Isthmus.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY THE COMPANY.

ARTICLE XXXVII.

The Company undertakes to execute, at its own expense, risk, and peril, all the works necessary for the establishment and construction of a railroad, to open and keep up a line of communication between the two oceans across the Isthmus of Panamá.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

The said works shall, unless in case of superior force, be commenced within the period of eighteen months, which shall begin to run four months after the approval of this contract by the Congress of the republic. Works of a definite nature, in respect to the laying out the line, indispensable to its execution, shall be regarded as the beginning of the enterprise.

ARTICLE XXXIX.

The said works shall be completed within the term of six years, counting from the expiration of four months after the approval of this contract by Congress; so that the railroad undertaken by the Company shall be passable in all its parts at the expiration of the term so specified; but if after constructing and making passable one-third part of the railroad, the Company should find that it cannot finish it in its whole extent in the six years agreed upon in this article, it shall have the right to ask an extension of the term, which shall be granted by the Executive for two years, in addition to the six years fixed for the completion of the whole railroad, without incurring thereby any of the penalties contained in this second chapter of this contract.

ARTICLE XL.

The Company shall secure the fulfilment of the obligations assumed by it for the execution of the works of the enterprise which is the subject of this contract, in the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars; but

it shall not be necessary for the Company to deposit this sum in cash, but only to secure it by means of an instrument of hypothecation of double the amount, executed with all proper solemnities, and to the entire satisfaction of the Government of the republic, to answer by virtue of such security for the said sum of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, in case the railroad should not be completed within the time stipulated in this contract, and in accordance with the provisions herein agreed upon.

ARTICLE XLI.

In case the privilege should become void in consequence of failure to begin the work, or from its not being completed in the manner and within the period prescribed therefore, the Company shall forfeit in favour of the republic the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, mentioned in the preceding article.

ARTICLE XLII.

If the Company should not have made its preparations for beginning its works agreeably to the thirty-eighth article, and if it should not have actually begun the same twenty-two months after this contract has been approved by Congress, it shall forfeit all the privileges and advantages which result to it therefrom; unless the agents of the Government of the Republic should not have effected the delivery of the lands necessary for the road within three months after they have been demanded by the Company. In this case, the term allowed by the thirty-eighth article for the commencement of the work, shall be extended for a period equal to that of the delay it has sustained in the delivery of the lands, after the three months from the time of their being demanded.

ARTICLE XLIII.

If at the end of the six years fixed for the completion of the railroad, the Company should not have completed half of the work, it shall incur the penalty of the avoidance of the privilege, and forfeit the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, secured by the obligation in double the amount which it is to execute as a guarantee of the fulfilment of the conditions which it assumes. The Company shall incur the same penalties, if at the end of the eight years the works of the railroad shall not be completed, and the said road passable throughout, in the manner and form and according to the conditions set forth in this contract.

ARTICLE XLIV.

In case of forfeiture legally declared against the Company, it shall be bound to return to the Government the lands granted gratuitously to it, and in the same condition in which they may be when the forfeiture is

pronounced; without any obligation on the part of the New Granadian Government to make the said Company, or to its assigns, any indemnification for improvements or for any other cause.

ARTICLE XLV.

After the entire completion of the work of the line of the railroad, the Company shall order a survey of the lands to be made at its own expense, with notice to the owners of the lands adjoining, together with a statistical plan of all the parts of the road, which are to be returned with it to the republic at the time of the expiration of the privilege. It shall also order a descriptive statement to be made, at its own expense, of the bridges, aqueducts, and other works of art which may have been constructed, and which are to be returned to the republic at the same time.

ARTICLE XLVI..

The Company shall make also, at its own expense, similar descriptive statements of all the subsequent works of the same kind, which it may afterwards construct during the period of its possession of the privilege.

ARTICLE XLVII.

An exact and authenticated duplicate of the statistical plan and descriptive statements above mentioned, shall be delivered by the Company to the Governor of Panamá, or sent to the office of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, to be deposited in the national archives for use there, in case of need, during the continuance of the privilege, or at the time of its expiration.

ARTICLE XLVIII.

One year before the expiration of the privilege, the Company shall be bound to make, on notice to and after hearing the agents of the republic commissioned for the purpose, valuations, statements and inventories of the immovable property, bridges, aqueducts, and other works of art, which are to be returned to the republic, agreeably to the descriptive statements and statistical plan, of which the duplicates shall have been deposited in the archives of the administration of New Granada.

ARTICLE XLIX.

At the expiration of the term of the privilege, and by the mere fact of its expiration, or in case of the resumption of the privilege, as provided in the second article of this contract, and by the mere fact of the resumption, the Government of New Granada shall be substituted in all the rights of the Company, in the ownership of the lands and of the works of art, designated in the statistical plan and in the inventories and descriptive statements

above mentioned, and shall enter immediately into the enjoyment of the line of communication, of all its appurtenances and dependencies, and of all profits accruing therefrom. The Company shall be bound to deliver to the Government in good condition, the roads, the works which compose them, and their appurtenances, such as the places for lighterage, for discharging cargo, guard-houses for the inspectors, offices for the collection of freight and carriage, machines fixed or movable, and in general all objects movable and immovable, whether destined specially for the service of transportation, or applicable to any other object connected with the enterprise, and whether included or omitted in the said plans, inventories, statements, and statistical tables.

ARTICLE L.

In conformity with what is already specified, it is hereby expressly stipulated, that when, at any time or for any cause whatever, the privilege of the Company shall terminate or expire, the Government of the Republic shall enter immediately and gratuitously into the enjoyment, ownership, and possession of all the objects which form the subject of articles forty-eight and forty-nine preceding the present; and consequently the said Government shall enter likewise immediately and gratuitously into the enjoyment, ownership, and possession of the railroad in its whole extent, from one ocean to the other, and of the places for lighterage, waggon-roads, lateral and cross, places for loading and unloading, storehouses, stations, guard-houses for the police, offices for the collection of freight and carriage, machines fixed or movable, and in general of all the works, effects, utensils and things of every kind which in the judgment of the Executive power may be necessary for the use of the road and its dependencies, such as locomotives, cars and carriages of every description, materials and furniture of every kind, and, in fine, any other things, movable and immovable, which may be applicable to the service of the railroad and of the other roads, works, and establishments dependent upon it, or in any manner connected with the enterprise, or belonging to it, although not expressly mentioned in this article, nor in those preceding; it being well understood that all these things, movable and immovable, shall pass, as it has been mentioned, into the enjoyment, ownership and possession of the Government of the republic, without its being obliged to pay anything to the Company by way of indemnification, or for any other cause.

ARTICLE LI.

In consideration of the collection and receipt of the duties and rates of transportation fixed by it, the Company binds itself always to effect with care, punctuality, and celerity, and without exception as to national character, the transportation of travellers, cattle, merchandise, goods and materials of all kinds which may be confided to it, all of which shall be

transported without any deduction from the established prices, except such as it may allow in favour of nations which are now bound, or which may hereafter become bound, by means of public treaties entered into with New Granada, to guarantee positively and effectually to this republic its rights of sovereignty and ownership over the territory of the Isthmus of Panamá, and the perfect neutrality of said Isthmus, to the end that the free transit from one sea to the other may never be interrupted or embarrassed; but notice is expressly given, and in fact it is hereby especially stipulated, that New Granada, Granadians and their property, shall enjoy all the benefits and advantages which any other nation whatever may obtain by virtue of the provision in this article.

ARTICLE LII.

Whatever may be the line selected by the Company for building the railroad between the two oceans, one of its extremities shall be the city of Panamá.

ARTICLE LIII.

Vessels of nations at war with New Granada shall not be admitted into the ports at either extremity of the railroad, nor shall the productions, effects, and property of such nations have free transit across the Isthmus on said road.

ARTICLE LIV.

The expenses of surveying and laying off the lands granted to the Company, the cost of the statistical plan, inventories, and descriptive statements mentioned in this contract, as well as the expenses and costs of the titles of ownership to be given by the authorities or notaries of the republic, shall be borne by the said Company; but all documents, of whatever nature, drawn up in the execution of this contract, shall be registered without cost.

ARTICLE LV.

The Company binds itself to pay annually to the Government of New Granada three per cent. of the net profits of the enterprise, in the same proportion in which they are to be distributed in form of dividends to the shareholders, without taking into account, in the payment of the said three per cent., any deduction for the supposed interest of the capital of the Company, or for any sum which the shareholders may designate as a reserve or sinking fund. It is stipulated that for the receipt of this duty, the Government of New Granada shall look, with the shareholders of the enterprise, to the accounts produced and liquidated at the general meeting of the Company, which accounts the agent of the republic may examine, and in respect to them he may make observations in the same manner as any shareholder; but without power of interfering in the general management of the Com-

pany. Besides what is stipulated in this article, it is also agreed that the payment of the said duty of three per cent. shall be made at Bogota, Panamá or New York, as the Government of the republic may direct.

ARTICLE LVI.

The Company selects New York as its domicile, and will maintain in Panamá a representative, with powers sufficient to act in its name in all cases where it may be necessary.

ARTICLE LVII.

The present privilege cannot be granted or assigned to any foreign government, that is, to any government out of the New Granadian territory, under penalty of forfeiture of the privilege, by the mere fact of attempting or carrying into effect such grant or assignment; and although it should at any time be attempted or carried into effect, it will be, and from this time is, declared absolutely null, and of no force or effect.

ARTICLE LVIII.

Wherever in this contract mention is made of the completion, expiration or termination of the privilege granted by it, all that is said in reference to such completion, expiration or termination, shall be understood as said and applicable also to the case of the resumption of the said privilege. Consequently, it is expressly stipulated, that at any time when the said privilege may be resumed, according to the second article in this contract, the Panamá Railroad Company shall fulfil all the duties incumbent upon it, in the same terms as if the forty-nine years, which the privilege at the utmost may extend, had expired: and it is also expressly stipulated, that for the sum which may be paid as indemnification to the Panamá Railroad Company, in any of the three cases set forth in the article last mentioned, the Government of New Granada shall acquire not only the rights, but also all the material objects, which the Company is bound to deliver to it on the expiration of the privilege, which delivery shall be made as may be established by general regulation, on the same terms on which it should take place if the forty-nine years, which the privilege at the utmost may continue, had expired.

ARTICLE LIX.

Controversies which may arise between the Executive power of New Granada and the Panamá Railroad Company, in regard to the fulfilment or failure in fulfilment of this contract, or upon the understanding or construction of the clauses it contains, shall be determined by the magistrates and according to the laws of the Republic of New Granada. In no case shall any privilege, immunity, or exemption be alleged, which is not

expressly recognised or granted in this contract; nor will the intervention of any authority or functionary other than those legally established with jurisdiction in the republic, be allowed. Such controversies as may affect the existence, preservation, or permanency of the privilege and of the rights thereunto appertaining, shall be decided by arbitration.

ARTICLE LX.

The Government of the Republic binds itself to protect and maintain, fully and entirely, the rights of the Company under this contract; and to this end it agrees, that where doubts occur in the construction of any clause or clauses inserted in the preceding articles, which secure to the Company any inducements or advantages, if such doubts should occur in consequence of such clauses not being sufficiently explicit, they shall be interpreted in the natural signification most favourable to the Company.

ARTICLE LXI.

All the legislative acts, decrees and agreements by which, in former years, various privileges were granted for the opening of an inter-marine communication by the Isthmus of Panamá, are irrevocably annulled. Consequently, the "Panamá Railroad Company" has the sole right and duty of constructing a railroad from one ocean to the other by the said Isthmus, in conformity with the stipulations of this contract, which is the only one remaining in force on the subject between the Government of the republic and said Company; since by this clause not only all the acts, decrees and agreements above mentioned, but especially all the contracts and stipulations which formerly existed between the said Government and the said Company, or the individuals, of whose rights it is the assignee, are annulled.

ARTICLE LXII.

This contract, as divided into two chapters, and extending to sixty-two articles, shall be submitted for approval to the Executive power of the Republic, and that being obtained, shall be presented by it to Congress; the consent and approval of which are required, in order that, receiving the force of a law, it may be carried into effect.

In testimony whereof the Commissioners on either side, that is to say, Victoriano de Diego Parédes as Secretary of Foreign affairs of the Republic of New Granada, acting in the name and by the special authority of the Government of the said Republic, and John Lloyd Stephens as Vice-President and General Commissioner of the Panamá Railroad Company, acting in the name and by the especial authority of the said Company, have prepared two copies of this contract, both of the same tenor and form; and

in evidence thereof, they sign and seal them with their respective private seals in Bogotá the 15th day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty.

VICTº. DE D. PARÉDES, [L. S.]
JOHN LLOYD STEPHENS. [L. S.]

Bogotá, sixteenth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty.

Approved,

I. HILº. LOPEZ.

Secretary of Foreign Affairs,

[L. S.] VICTº. DE D. PARÉDES.

PROTOCOL *of the last Conference held to complete the execution of the "Contract concerning the privilege of constructing a Railroad from one Ocean to the other across the Isthmus of Panamá."*

In the city of Bogotá, on the fifteenth day of April, eighteen hundred and fifty, met in the office of Foreign Affairs of New Granada, Victoriano de Diego Parédes, Secretary of State and of the above-mentioned Department of Foreign Affairs, and John Lloyd Stephens, General Agent of the Panamá Railroad Company, for the purpose signing and sealing in duplicate the contract which they have concluded on this date, in respect to the privilege of constructing a Railroad on the Isthmus of Panamá; and the said original documents being produced, Señor Parédes declared: that before signing the same he was directed to inform Mr. Stephens, that the Government of the Republic understands, and solemnly declares, that by the sixty-first article of the before-mentioned contract are annulled, not only all the acts, decrees, and agreements therein expressed, but also all and every other contract or contracts, which, Señor Rafael Rivas, Chargé d'Affaires of the Republic of New Granada in Washington, may have executed, or may execute, with the Panamá Railroad Company, before receiving intelligence of said before-mentioned contract, which is to be executed on this date; and that although Mr. Stephens had announced that he acquiesced in the above-mentioned understanding of the said sixty-first article, the Granadian Government wishes some formal evidence of that fact to remain in its possession; and consequently declarant announces anew, in the name of the said Government, that every other contract, which may have been, or may be executed without knowledge of that which is this day to be signed shall be null and of no validity or effect, so that if hereafter it shall appear that before, after, or at the same time with the signature of the said contract there has been in course of execution, about to be or already executed any

other contract or contracts on the same subject, such contract or contracts executed without knowledge of that which is this day to be signed, shall be absolutely invalid, and only that which is here present for execution shall remain in force and effect.

Mr. Stephens being made acquainted with the declaration herein mentioned, accepted it fully and absolutely as General Agent of his principal, the Panamá Railroad Company, in the name of which he made in terms similar to the preceding another declaration of the same purport, which was also fully and absolutely accepted by Señor Parédes in the name and as the representative of the Government of New Granada.

Subsequently the said duplicates of the contract, in respect to the privilege of the construction of a Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, were read and carefully compared, and having been found to be of the same tenor and in the same form, were signed and sealed by the said Señores Parédes and Stephens, whereupon the conference terminated and this protocol was drawn up.

In proof and for a general evidence whereof, and in order that the same may be specially proven at the time of considering in Congress the contract herein mentioned, this transaction has been drawn up in duplicate, in Bogotá, on the before-mentioned fifteenth day of April, eighteen hundred and fifty.

[L. S.] VICTº. DE D. PARÉDES.
[L. S.] JOHN LLOYD STEPHENS.

PROTOCOL *of a Conference between the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of New Granada and the Commissioner of the Panamá Railroad Company.*

Met in the office of the Department of Foreign Affairs the undersigned, that is to say, Victoriano de Diego Parédes, Secretary of the said Department, and John Lloyd Stephens, Vice-President and Commissioner of the Panamá Railroad Company. Señor Parédes stated to Mr. Stephens as follows: that he had invited him to this conference, in the first place, with the object of bringing to his knowledge the Legislative Decree, issued under date of the 29th of May last past, approving the contract entered into the 15th of April preceding, respecting the privilege of constructing a Railroad from one ocean to the other of the Isthmus of Panamá; and in the second place, in order that, being advised of the modifications with which said contract had been approved by Congress, he might declare if he accepted them in all points in the name of his principal, the Panamá Railroad Company.

Consequently, the two copies of the before-mentioned Legislative Decree,

which had been passed by Congress to the Executive Power, being presented to him, Señor Parédes gave notice to Mr. Stephens, that by virtue of provision in said Legislative Decree, the contract of the 15th of April, above referred to, had received various modifications, without which it could not be considered as subsisting, or be carried into effect, to wit:

1st. Article twenty-fifth is reduced to its first clause, which says: "The enterprise is deemed of public utility." The rest is rejected.

2nd. The word *hipotecaria* (instrument of hypothecation) in the fortieth article is suppressed.

3rd. On no account and at no time shall the work of the railroad be suspended by reason of differences, which may arise between the Company and the owners of land, as to the value which must be put upon such as it may be necessary to purchase for the building of the said road; but in order to give positive guarantees to such owners, and that their rights may not in any manner be prejudiced, the Company shall execute a personal undertaking or mortgage, sufficient in the judgment of the Governor of Panamá to answer for the price which may be fixed for said lands, according to the law of the second of June, one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, "Of Expropriation."

4th. The Railroad enterprise, being of public utility, the authorities shall afford it all possible protection in conformity with the laws.

Having made this declaration, Señor Parédes asked Mr. Stephens if he accepted the contract with the amendments which had been stated, and Mr. Stephens answered that he accepted it in all its parts, in the name and as the representative of the Panamá Railroad Company, with the amendments which had been stated, that is, with the suppression and modifications which the Congress of the Republic has seen fit to make to the said contract in the before-mentioned Legislative Decree.

In testimony whereof this conference is drawn up in duplicate, in Bogotá, the third day of June, one thousand eight hundred and fifty.

VICTº. DE D. PARÉDES.
JOHN LLOYD STEPHENS.

REPUBLIC OF NEW GRANADA.

OFFICIAL GAZETTE.

BOGOTÁ, *Wednesday, July* 21*st*, 1852.

YEAR XXI. No. 1406.

Office of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

CORRECTION.

The Decree in regard to grants, made to the Panamá Railroad Company, having been published with several mistakes in the Gazette, No. 1368, of Tuesday, the 18th of May, which erroneously received the number 1367, its publication is repeated.

DECREE.

(*of May* 14*th*, 1852.)

In regard to Grants to the Panamá Railroad Company.

The Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled,

ENACT AS FOLLOWS:

ARTICLE 1st. Among the lands granted to the Panamá Railroad Company by the 18th Article of the Contract of June 4th, 1850, shall be computed those which form the Island of Manzanillo, in the Bay of Limon, in the proportion of one *fanegada* on said island for two of those which it is entitled to receive upon the continent, adjacent to the railroad. The said island is thereby granted in ownership to the said Company, notwithstanding the stipulations in Articles 16 and 17 of the said contract; but the Company must deliver to the Government at the expiration thereof, all the works, appurtenances, and other objects existing on the said island, and to which the Government has any right under the stipulations in Articles 48, 49, and 50.

ART. 2nd. The lands and shores of which the Company can make use at both extremeties of the railroad, on the portion covered by the sea at high tide, are likewise granted in full ownership to the said Company, as a part of the waste lands to which it is entitled under the contract.

ART. 3rd. So long as the whole of the road, which is in process of con-

struction, shall not be finished and opened to the public, the Company shall be under no other obligation to the Government of the republic, in respect to the sums of money which it is bound to pay thereto for the transit of foreign mails, in conformity with Article 30 of said contract, than the payment of five per cent. of the profits received by the Company on that operation.

ART. 4th. Persons travelling on the line of the railroad, that is to say, the tract cleared and prepared for the same, as soon as it has been opened to public use, otherwise than in the conveyances of the Company, and on paying the rates of passage fixed by it, shall be liable to a fine of 200 *reales* each, commutable by six days of arrest for those who cannot pay.

PARAGRAPH. The Provincial Chamber of Panamá shall appoint such number of Officers of Police, as the Railroad Company may require, for the apprehension of offenders and their submission to the proper authorities, who shall proceed in accordance with the rules prescribed for cases of infractions of police regulation. Such officers shall receive from the Company the salaries fixed for them by the Provincial Chamber.

ART. 5th. The Executive shall put the Panamá Railroad Company in possession of the grants herein before mentioned, when it shall deem proper.

Given at BOGOTÁ, May 12th, 1852.

President of the Senate, VICENTE LOMBANA; Secretary of the Senate, MEDARIO RIVAS; President of the Chamber of Representatives, JUSTO AROSEMENA; Secretary of the Chamber of Representatives, ANTONIO MARIA PRADILLA.

BOGOTÁ, *May 14th*, 1852.

Let it be carried into Execution and Published.

[L. S.] *President of the Republic,*
JOSE HILARIO LOPEZ.

Secretary for Foreign Affairs,
JOSE MARIA PLATA.

I certify that the foregoing contract has been compared with the original in the office of the Panamá Railroad Company, and is a correct copy thereof; and that the translation of the same into the English language has been made by me, and is a correct translation of the whole of the said original contract.

ANTONIO ARTELLS.

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